This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Tracts here reprinted are from the editions of 1711 and 1704. The arrangement only of the first Tract is a little altered, in order to bring all the matter respecting the Massacre of Glenco together. We have also added two notes, one of which is a translation of the passage from Trebellius Pollio, quoted in the text. No other liberties whatever have been taken, and we hope the typography will equal the others in neatness and accuracy.

D. WEBSTER.

EDINBURGH,
14th Oct. 1818.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

Preface, ... 3
Memoirs of Lord Viscount Dundee, ... 13
Account of his officers, ... 41
Siege of Edinburgh Castle, ... 71
——— the Bass, ... 74
Gallienus Redivivus, ... 79
Letter from a Gentleman in Edinburgh, to his friend in London, ... 80
Massacre of Glenco, ... 1
Letter from a person of quality, ... 3
Commission of King William, ... 6
Translation of ditto, ... 8
Report of the commissioners, ... 11
Proceedings of the Parliament, ... 36
Address to the King, ... 48
Conclusion, ... 50

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LORD VISCOUNT DUNDEE

AND THE

HIGHLAND CLANS;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS OFFICERS AFTER THEY WENT TO FRANCE.

TOGETHER WITH

THE MASSACRE OF GLENCO.

BY AN OFFICER OF THE ARMY.

Non ille pro charis amicis
Aut patria timidus perire.——HOR. Carm. lib. 4. ode 9.

Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
Explicet——VIRG. Æneid. lib. 2.

——Series longissima rerum
Per tot ducta viros.——VIRG. Æneid. lib. 1.

LONDON: Printed in MDCCXI.

THE

PREFACE.

NOTHING but the respect I bear to my country, and the injustice I see it suffer, both by party and national writers, could engage me to undertake so insuperable a labour. The first write as they affect, with prepensed resolutions of doing no justice, but heaping all advantages on their own party; and a dash from their malicious pen can make Glenlyon, that massacred Glenco, Glenlyon the Sacred. Every day we see as great contradictions in their scurrilous papers which they scatter about, and their inflamed passions swelled to that pitch, that neither church nor state, nor even the Queen herself, is free from their lashes. *The Queen is lashed!*

As for national historians, who are aliens, and have no interest in a country, nor love for it, they must have a natural aversion to it in many respects, especially when its virtue and honour stand in competition with theirs, and therefore are inclinable to misrepresent or eclipse the heroic actions of another nation, and give them such a turn in the style, that the reader shall not improve, nor the country have any credit by them. All generals *swallow up* particulars, and although of different *natures, often* give them tastes and colours lik

themselves. As soon as rivers enter the ocean, they lose their fresh water taste and crystalline colours, and become green and saltish, by reason of the stronger body that overcomes them; so England, being richer and more powerful than her neighbours, gives better encouragement to hirelings and scribblers, and consequently never wants her cause managed to the best advantage, and oft to the detriment of all others, to make herself glorious. When on my travels, I read the English news, and saw many books published; it grieved me exceedingly, to think that so much good and substantial history, that might be useful and honourable to posterity, should be lost and buried in oblivion. This is the only argument that engaged me to list myself in the crowd. Histories are the records of honour, and of every thing that is good and great; the life and soul of virtue and religion, and, like a microscope, magnify and illuminate all the heroic actions and exploits of our ancestors, and create in us an ambitious emulation to excel them, or a modest blush to conceal our own imperfections. If any man, for reasons best known to himself, should decry my history, why did he not write it? it is twenty years since the things were transacted, and now is the time or never. *Cum tua non edas, carpas mea carmina noli.* A servant that does his duty, though with some mistakes and errors, is preferable to him that knows it better, but never endeavours any performance. *He is a brave man that* courts a woman of quality *and degree above himself*; and who knows but he

may gain her affections; but he is timorous and faint-hearted, that dares not address what he loves, and deserves no fine mistress. This is my comfort, what I write is my own, and there are many eye-witnesses living to confirm it; neither can there be any history wrote of Scotland, for forty years past, but what must be obliged to me, and I am obliged to no man, except for the account of the massacre of Glenco, which has been privately handed about since a few months after the barbarous action, and I have taken it verbatim from the original. What the learned author of the three volumes of the History of England writes of Scotland, is so short and general, that no man can improve by it; and what these ignorant party scribblers write of King James and King William's lives, are so false and biassed, that they lead men into gross mistakes and errors, and occasion many dangerous disputes between the readers and witnesses. The author of King William's life impudently affirms, that the Lord Viscount Dundee had 6000 men at Gillicrankie, and that Mackay had 4000, whereas Dundee had but 2000, and Mackay above 6000, which many of both kingdoms can testify. What is written of Scotland, is so much stained and tainted with an anti-monarchical and national pencil, that it is not to be credited; every man writing to satisfy the particular gust and relish of his own irregular appetite and party desire, without any respect of truth and honour to their neighbours.

I confess, that if this substantial history, which *I have comprehended* in these few sheets, had been

in some mens' hands, and agreeable to their humours, they would have swelled them into volumes, and have writ the glorious actions performed by Dundee and the Clans, in golden letters, and reposed them in all colleges and libraries, as sacred and divine; then we should have had nothing but draughts and landscapes of Gillicrankies and Glencoes, in all noblemens' and gentlemens' parlours, with large encomiums and characters to his praise, confirmed with full glasses to his memory. But his ill fortune was, his loyalty became a crime! and he, who took the sacrament in the church of England two days before he was killed, and all his life-time was a strenuous promoter of Episcopacy in Scotland, had the misfortune to oppose the sacred revolution, whereby our laws, liberties, and religion, were preserved. But we see generals, with other men, have their different fates; some die in battle for their honour, others fly their country for their treasure; Dundee and the Clans fought it bravely, and he died in the field of battle; Glenco and his followers took the oaths, became loyal and obedient subjects, and lived peaceably and quietly under the established government, yet were inhumanly massacred. Now, which had the best on't, Dundee and his Clans, for their rebellion, or Glenco and his followers, for their loyalty? It will puzzle a country parson to resolve.

Whether was it better for Major-General Buchan and Cannin, with their officers, to go to *France, and live sparingly* on what their unfortu-

nate Master King James could allow them, or stay at home and live peaceably, and be *Glenco'd?*

Whether was it better for the Scotch Episcopal clergy at the revolution, to fly into England for shelter and succour, than stay in Scotland and see their wives and children abused, their houses plundered, and themselves *Glenco'd?* The ill usage many met with in Scotland made them Jacobites, contrary to their inclinations, and fly into England, even to St Germains itself, where they were kindly received and assisted by a distressed prince, which gave them so deep a tincture then, that it cannot be washed off now.

Whether or no, in the late government, durst the disaffected party assemble in mobs at Charing Cross, with many of the king's officers at their heads, and amongst them, in chairmen and watermen's cloaths, and their nobility in chocolate and coffee-houses, inveighing against the king and ministry, as some do at present, notwithstanding we have a gracious queen, and a good ministry, that have procured us a happy, and, I hope, a lasting peace, and, thanks be to God, a glorious and unanimous parliament, that appoints wholesome laws for the preservation of our religion and liberties?

But, with profound submission, clemency in many circumstances is a crime, especially in princes, when the quiet and safety of their government is concerned. There are some that maintain hereditary right to such a degree, that nothing but their grandfathers *fates* will satisfy them. It was an old *saying amongst* the cavaliers in Scotland, that

whilst there is a Campbell or Dalrymple in power, a Stuart will never be safe on the throne; and King Charles II. used to say, when he heard of any divisions or rebellions in Scotland, he was sure there was a Campbell or Dalrymple at the bottom on't. When the dry bones of a loyal Graham rattled in their coffin, and called for justice and a resurrection, it was full time for some to think on a maiden *, and that rebellion was a mortal sin.

It is surprising, that neither example nor experience can teach some restless spirits their duty, whose desires, like the graves, are never to be satisfied, and their ambitious minds exceed all limits of reason and discretion. In reading these memoirs, you will find all the paternal care that could be used by fathers and kings, practised by King Charles II. and King James II. to reclaim the Presbyterians from their rebellions. But the more favours the government heaped upon them, more stubborn and rebellious they were. King Charles gave them churches of their own in several shires in the kingdom; and when they were not satisfied, connived at their meetings in private houses, till at last they kept their conventicles amongst rocks and mountains, and preached rebellion publicly, debauching the people from their allegiance; and when Clavers received his commission to march with his horse and dragoons to the western shires to suppress them, it was always limited, and with a caution from the government, to use them mer-

* *The machine* used in Scotland for executing state criminals.

cifully, and that the neighbouring gentlemen and ministers should converse with them, give them their best advice, and hear their allegations. But nothing could prevail, all admonition and instruction to them was lost, for they turned from bad to worse. Several of them took arms, and came privately in the night to ministers' houses, whom they plundered, and forced to swear they should never preach again, else they would murder them. They likewise plundered several gentlemens' houses whom they knew to be for the government, and murdered Clavers's soldiers wherever they catched them. At this time his Grace the Duke of York was in Scotland, who was concerned to hear of the commotions and troubles in the west, and ordered that some prisoners should be brought to Edinburgh to be examined. Accordingly, there were three sent, who were found so ignorant and simple on their examinations, that his Grace gave orders to set them at liberty, upon condition that they should say, God save the king; which they positively denied; then his Highness asked, if there was a bedlam in the country to put them in, and declared, that if they were hanged, it was his opinion, their blood was on the nation. Notwithstanding, according to their sentence of condemnation, they were brought to the place of execution, and his Grace being uneasy, sent the Lord Roscommon with a pardon to them, who came close to the scaffold, and (one of them being hanged) made a handsome speech to the other two, offering them their pardon, if they would say, God save the king

The next to be hanged was John Potter, who seemed to be in a doubt, and it was believed would have accepted of the pardon, but his wife took him by the arm, and almost pushed him over the ladder, and said, Go die for the good old cause, my dear; see such a man, (meaning the hanged man), will sup this night with Christ Jesus. So, in fine, the other two were hanged, but what was the woman's design in having her husband hanged, surprised many.

At this time, about thirty of these deluded people left their families and business, and went to the hills, where they lived in rocks and caves for some weeks. John Gibb, sailor in Borrowstounness, Walter Ker in Trafritham, ——— Gemmison in Linlithgow, were their chief leaders: They called themselves the Sweet Singers of Israel, eat nothing that there was salt in, or paid tax to the king, blotted the name of king out of their Bibles, and cohabited all together. When a party of dragoons took them at the Ouffins, in Tweeddale, they were all lying on their faces, and jumped up in a minute, and called out with an audible voice, that God Almighty would consume the party with fire from heaven, for troubling the people of God. On the road as they went to Edinburgh, when any of their relations or acquaintances came to visit them, they spit at them, and threw themselves on their faces, and bellowed like beasts, whereof his Highness being informed, ordered *them immediately* to be set at liberty.

At this juncture of madness in the west of Scot-

land, Clavers received his orders to suppress them, which he managed with so great prudence and conduct, that his enemies both loved and feared him. His friends applauded his mercy and tenderness to his countrymen, many whereof, by his pathetic advice and instructions, came over to the king's party, and his master amply rewarded his good services, by conferring new posts of honour and profits every day upon him, whose heroic actions demonstrate his love to his country, and martial spirit exceeds the bounds of my imagination to describe; therefore I refer you to the learned Dr Pitcairn's character of him in the following epitaph.

EPITAPH

BY

DR. PITCAIRN.

ULTIME Scotorum, potuit, quo sospite solo,
Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ:
Te moriente, novos accepit Scotia cives,
Accepitque novos, te moriente, Deos.
Illa nequit superesse tibi, tu non potes illi,
Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane, vale:
Tuque *vale, gentis* priscæ fortissime ductor,
Ultime Scotorum, ac ultime Grame, vale.

TRANSLATED

BY

JOHN DRYDEN, Esq.

Oh! last and best of Scots! who didst maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign;
New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.
Scotland and thee did each in other live;
Nor wou'dst thou her, nor cou'd she thee survive.
Farewell, who dying didst support the state,
And cou'dst not fall but with thy country's fate.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LORD VISCOUNT DUNDEE.

MEMOIRS, like pictures, are exposed to a double censure; first, from those who dislike the principles of the persons represented, and upon that account have conceived a distaste to all their actions; and their malice and spleen rises in proportion to the merit they dislike; some will accuse the author of flattery, and charge him with going beyond the truth; others will cry he is a party-man, and therefore not to be credited; and some critical genii will be offended at the style, for wanting elegancy and the embellishments of rhetoric.

The other censure is fastened upon him by the ignorant, who have no taste of loyalty, nor sense of honour. If you tell them of loyal and heroic actions, of enduring hardships for their king and country, they look upon you as one that has a design of imposing upon them, and your history passeth with them for no better than a romance, and the mere coinage of men's brains.

My memoirs are designed for neither of these, though they both have the liberty to peruse them, to *grind their teeth*, chew them, and swallow them, *and I wish they* may give them a loyal purge, and

carry off all anti-monarchical and factious principles.

Two sorts of men are invited to read my Memoirs; the first are all honest and loyal subjects to the queen, who will find them adapted to their genius, and confirming their allegiance to the government.

The other are those worthy and honourable gentlemen who have loyal principles in their hearts, but are under the sad necessity of concealing them, by reason of their dependence on some of the Anti-Stuartan families, and supplies from ignominious coffee wenches, are therefore obliged to frequent some assemblies where nothing but treasons are hatched, and invectives belched out against her Majesty and the ministry. These gentlemen I desire to read the following Memoirs, in which they'll learn their duty to her Majesty, without whose immediate benevolence, they can have no means of subsisting; and their demeanour to the ministry, whose prudent conduct has settled a fund for their support, and procured a glorious peace, and will improve it into a complete blessing, by an open trade and increase of treasure, if we'll allow them time for so great a work, and in the mean while, live quietly and peaceably amongst ourselves.

JOHN GRAHAME, of Claver-house in Angus, in Scotland, descended from the honourable family of Morphy, in Mearns, a branch of the noble and loyal family of Montrose: his ancestors were al-

ways eminent for valour and loyalty, and were never backward in shewing their affection and loyalty to the royal family, when either of these were needful.

This worthy gentleman, with the happy advantages of an hereditary loyalty, and a liberal education in humanity and the mathematics, in which he made a very considerable progress, to qualify himself for the service of his king and country, travelled into France, where he spent some time in the French service as a volunteer, with great reputation and applause. For his farther improvement, he went from thence to Holland, where his early inclination to arms recommended him to the Prince of Orange, who made him cornet of one of his own troops of guards, which post soon gave him an opportunity of shewing himself to the world; for at the battle of St Nuff, 1674, when the Prince of Orange was dismounted, and in great danger of being taken, he rescued him, and brought him off upon his own horse. His Highness requited this brave action by making him captain of one of his troops of guards. This, together with his other distinguishing merits, recommended him to the favour of King Charles and the Duke of York, and made him as universally feared as known by his enemies. One of the Scotch regiments in Holland becoming vacant, his interest with the court of England, and the Prince of Orange's promises for services performed, encouraged him to stand candidate for the regiment, which a Dutch interest carried against him. He resented this affront

highly, as to leave the Dutch service, and return to Scotland, 1677, where King Charles II. raised a regiment of foot, and three independent troops of horse, the first of which he gave to Captain John Grahame of Claver-house. About which time, those turbulent people, the Whigs, began to keep their conventicles in the west of Scotland, and frequent them with horse and arms, in an insolent and open defiance of the peaceable and tender government, who were obliged to send Clavers with his own troop, and some others of dragoons, to suppress their factious meetings; which he endeavoured with all possible prudence and civility, but without success. He conversed with some of their ministers and leading men, and represented to them the danger they exposed themselves to by disturbing so indulgent a government; and, at the same time, advised them to make their application to his Majesty, who would be sure to grant them their requests as far as reasonable; but they were too obstinate to condescend to his advice. He often imposed fines and mulcts on them, to frighten them into their allegiance, but never exacted one farthing. No arguments of religion or reason could possibly prevail with them, but they still presumptuously advanced, and boldly increased their rebellious meetings, and often opposed the king's troops, when they gently endeavoured to disperse them, and at last grew so very impudent, as to hold their meetings in the very face, and under *the nose, of the king's* garrisons.

The first act of rebellion they committed was at

Whitekirk-hill, in East Lothian, in view of the Bass. Near twelve hundred of the Whigs assembled, and Mr Charles Maitland, governor of the Bass, went ashore with twelve men, and earnestly intreated them to disperse, and not to hold their meetings in sight of the king's garrison, it being contrary to the established laws of the nation. They immediately assaulted him and his men, killed one, and wounded the rest, himself very narrowly escaping. Yet the Government was so merciful, that only one Learmont, a pedlar, was executed at Edinburgh for the murder, though several others were known to be equally guilty.

The next murder that blood-thirsty and wicked people committed, (to the eternal shame and sorrow of their country), was on the body of Dr James Sharp, archbishop of St Andrews, and primate of Scotland, on the 3d of May 1679. His Grace returning home in his coach with his daughter, about three miles from St Andrews, was assaulted by nine ruffians, who cut the traces of the foremost horses, wounded the postilion, and imperiously commanded the archbishop to come out of his coach, who immediately complied, and earnestly implored the liberty to say his prayers. The ruffians objected, he had frequently prevented their prayers, and instantly three of them killed him, by giving him many wounds in the head and body, and that the other six might be equally guilty in the execrable action, they cut him, when dead, in *several parts* of his head and body; they also mak-

treated his daughter for dutifully offering to assist her father.

The flagitious villains were so steeled in their wickedness, that at Drumclog and Bothwell-bridge, they publicly owned the murder, and wickedly gloried in it. Only one of them, Haxton of Rathellit, was apprehended at Airs-moss, and hanged at Edinburgh. The rest fled to Holland, that common sanctuary of British rebels and murderers; and on the Prince of Orange's arrival in England, Dr Fleming, one of the assassins, who came over with him, publicly appeared every day on the Royal Exchange, and practised physic in London many years, without ever being arraigned for so inhuman and barbarous a murder.

After this bloody fact, they kept their meetings in great numbers, and well armed, and were often too strong for the few regular troops under the command of Clavers. On the first of June 1678, 3000 Whigs assembled at Drumclog, in the shire of Air, many of them well armed; whereof Clavers being informed, marched towards them with his own troop, and forty dragoons, and attacked them in a bog, where the Whigs behaved themselves very desperately, killed twenty-seven of his troopers and dragoons, as also his cornet, one of his own name, and a relation; and imagining him to be Clavers, they barbarously thrust many swords into his dead body, and beat his head into a jelly.

Clavers very providentially escaped by dismounting *one of his trumpeters*, when his own horse's

guts were cut out with a scythe. The Whigs that night, at Strathaven, in Clydesdale, murdered all their prisoners, and Clavers was obliged to retreat to Glasgow, where my Lord Ross lay with two regiments of foot, and there my Lord Ross and Clavers barricadoed all the lanes and streets in the town, where the next day they were boldly, though disorderly, attacked by 4000 Whigs, who, with great loss, were repulsed out of Glasgow; whence returning three miles off, to Shawhead Moor, they were then joined by others, to the number of sixteen thousand men.

Upon which my Lord Ross and Clavers thought fit to retreat to Stirling, to join the rest of the king's forces there; which retreat, with the success the rebels had in the skirmish at Drumclog, encouraged them to declare an open rebellion, and a defiance of the king's troops at Bothwell-bridge.

On the 10th of June 1679, Clavers, with forty horse and forty dragoons, surprised at Bewly-bog above 250 rebels, well armed, going to join their main body near Bothwell-bridge, killed seventy-five, and took many prisoners.

About this time, the Earl of Linlithgow was created major-general, in the place of Sir George Monro, and had gathered all the standing troops of the nation together at Falkirk, where he was joined by my Lord Ross and Clavers. His army consisted of one troop of horse-guards, two regiments of foot, three independent troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, with which he marched to Glasgow to suppress the rebels. But when

them, on condition they would go to church, submit themselves to the government, and live peaceably at home. But his dragoons were the only medicines to be applied to their distempers, and made them more tractable than all the advice he could give them. For,

On the 17th of July 1680, about 300 banditti of the Whigs gathered together near Airs-moss, in the shire of Air; Earlshall, Clavers's lieutenant, having received information, marched immediately with 80 horse and dragoons to disperse them; who, as soon as the king's troops appeared, retreated to the Moss, fought it desperately, and killed 17 of the king's troops, but at last were defeated, and many of them killed. The famous minister, Cameron, and his brother, were both killed; and Haxton of Rathellit, one of the murderers of the bishop of St Andrews, was taken. This was the last actual rebellion they committed in King Charles II.'s time, though they had many private meetings, which Clavers suppressed with so much prudence and tenderness, that the good character he received from his enemies as well as his friends, obliged King Charles to create him a privy-councellor; and it was observed, that in all his undertakings he was as successful as bold; for though my Lord Aberdeen's learning and politics recommended him to King Charles and the Duke of York, yet Clavers turned him out of favour, and was a great instrument of the Earl of Perth's advancement.

At a circuit-court at Dumfries, some mistakes *happened between* Queensberry and Clavers, which

obliged Clavers to leave the circuit; and, in one day, when the ground was covered with snow, he rode from Dumfries to Edinburgh, which is above 60 long miles; the next day he took journey for London, and was there when King Charles died; and at King James's accession to the crown, he joining with Perth and Melford, they turned Queensberry out of favour.

About this time the Whigs began to renew their rebellions in Galloway, where they murdered the minister of Creforn in his bed; and coming afterwards to Kirkcudbright, killed a poor man there, who was one of the centries on the tolbooth, only for challenging them, Who comes there? About six miles from Kirkcudbright, Clavers, with some horse and dragoons, attacked that party of rebels that murdered the minister, chased them into a bog, killed seven or eight of them, and took some prisoners, who told him, the murderer of the minister lay dead on the spot.

This is all I can observe transacted between Clavers and the rebels in King Charles II.'s time, except some barbarous murders committed by the rebels on Clavers' soldiers, whereof there are now living many eye-witnesses, both in England and Scotland.

William Cunningham and Andrew Clevland, two dragoons, going out of Cumlock, in the shire of Air, were set upon by seven country fellows out of a wood: Cunningham was murdered, and, at the *intercession* of some gentlewomen, Clevland *was saved.*

Oliphant and his comrade, two dragoons, quartered in the parish of Newmills, in the shire of Air, were both murdered by the Whigs on a Sunday morning, as they went to their conventicle. A glorious work before prayers!

Irwin, a dragoon, was killed between Douglas and Lanark, by a man and a woman, who went along the road with him, until they came to a pass; the man threw him off his horse, and the woman killed him with his own sword.

Flesher, a trooper, coming home to his troop in Clydesdale, was murdered by six Whigs, thrown in a river, and found six weeks afterwards.

Two troopers who went out of the garrison of Blahan, in the shire of Air, in the evening to walk, were both shot from the wood by the Whigs.

A single dragoon coming into a public house to ask the way to Blahan, a woman spinning on her distaff told him she would shew him, and, instead thereof, immediately called six or seven men, and murdered the dragoon.

At Enterkine Hill, some Whigs hid in bushes, shot two of a party of Dundee's horse as they passed that way.

At Swine-abbey, in Linlithgowshire, James Carmichael, laird of Little Blackburn, with a party of about 50 Whigs, murdered Captain Duncan Stuart and Captain Thomas Kennway, both gentlemen in the king's horse-guards; and when several of the murderers were taken, the government was so merciful as to offer them their lives, if they would but *acknowledge that it* was a murder, though they

did not confess themselves to be the murderers; and moreover, say God save the king, which they obstinately chose rather to be hanged than say; so, if ever that party be in power, we see what monarchy and Episcopacy may expect. This James Carmichael of Little Blackburn, some years after he was married, got two women with child, and when they told him of their misfortunes, he appointed them separately to meet him at a private place, where he murdered them both, and threw them into a coal-pit. Some weeks afterwards he fell sick, and confessed the murder both of the captains and the women, and gave his confession in writing under his hand. Afterwards he recovered, and lived many years in King William's reign, without ever being questioned for the murders, because he was a holy brother.

At Bellapath, near Cumlock, in the shire of Air, the Whigs took one Houston a prisoner, from a small party of horse, commanded by Mr James Affleck, and killed three of his party. And to foment our rebellions in Scotland, much about the time these murders were committed,

Argyle sailed from Ulye, in Holland, on the 2d of May 1685, with three ships, one of 30, one of 12, and one of 6 guns, and 20 boats. On the 5th of May he appeared before the Isles of Orkney, and sent his steward, Mr Spence, and his surgeon, ashore, who were both apprehended by the inhabitants, and sent prisoners to the privy-council at Edinburgh. Argyle not finding that encouragement in the Orkney and other islands, and in the

north of Scotland, he expected, sailed to the western parts of that kingdom, and landed at Dunstaffnage castle in Lorn, where he left a strong garrison, and marched further into the country, and there he published his rebellious declarations and manifestoes, which no man took notice of but his own friends and followers. Afterwards he marched into Kintire with three troops of horse, and about 800 foot, and from thence to Tarbot, where he was joined by 200 Ely men. His ships and boats came round, and were attending his orders in the offing of Kintire. There he went aboard, and sailed to the Isle of Bute, where he himself landed, and marched to Rothsay, in the Isle of Bute; and finding no encouragement, returned to his ships, and sailed to Cowel in Argyleshire, designing to bring in his ships to Lochfine; but hearing of two of the king's men of war, viz. the Kingsfisher and the Falcon, coming about in search of his ships, he fortified a small castle called Allengreg, and an adjacent rock, in which he put his arms, ammunition, and artillery, and left 150 men to defend the castle and ships, and then marched to the head of Lochfine.

On the 11th of June, the Marquis of Athol, having 300 of the king's troops under his command, engaged about 400 foot and 100 horse of Argyle's rebels, killed many of them, and put them to the rout, which obliged Argyle to make a counter march to Allengreg castle, where he staid till *the 15th of June*; then he marched with about *6000 men to Lennox*, in Dumbartonshire, and

thence to Killearn, within four miles of Dumbarton, where my Lord Dumbarton, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's troops, was within three miles of Argyle's army; and Argyle seeing Dumbarton's army so numerous and well marshalled, at night made fires over all his camp, and by the light of them, decamped and dispersed all his people to their respective habitations; and never any of them appeared in a body again, except about 150, commanded by Sir John Cochran, posted within stone walls at Moordyke, where they were attacked by my Lord Ross, who commanded 100 horse and dragoons. In the attack, my Lord Ross lost Captain Clevland and six or seven dragoons, but killed many of the rebels, and put them to a total rout; and this was all the loss that Scotland suffered by Argyle's invasion. His Lordship was taken by a private trooper in the water of Inchinnan, brought prisoner to Glasgow, and from thence to Edinburgh, by a party of the king's horse guards, and the Mid Lothian gentlemen. They made his Lordship come out of his coach at the water-gate, and with a halter about his neck, led by the hangman, walk up the Canongate, High Town, and into the Castle; and on the 30th of June, his Lordship was beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh.

All this time my Lord Dundee was on the borders of Scotland, with some troops of horse, to prevent all insurrections and communications between Monmouth and Argyle, and there was nothing more worthy our observation transacted in

Scotland during King James's reign, till the revolution, when the Scots troops marched into England. But after the dissolution of King James's army in Salisbury Plain, he returned back to Scotland, where the Convention of estates sat at Edinburgh.

November 9th 1688.—The Whigs in the west of Scotland, without any commission or order, came in herds to Edinburgh, to guard the Convention; and not being unprovided of their essential qualities, malice and revenge, no man that had served in King Charles II. or King James's reigns, was safe in the streets. These things, with some other proceedings of the Convention, and private designs against my Lord Viscount Dundee, obliged his Lordship to leave the Convention and city of Edinburgh. He took about thirty horse with him, and went down Leith-wynd, and along the way called the Lang-gate. He halted his party over against the castle, near the West Kirk, and went by himself up to the castle wall, where he had half an hour's conference with his Grace the Duke of Gordon, and afterwards returned to his party, and that night went to Linlithgow. What discourse his Grace the Duke of Gordon and Dundee had together, is not known to many; but it is evident, from the consequences of Dundee's affairs in the Highlands, that if his Grace had left the government of the castle to his Lieutenant-Governor Windram, and gone to the Highlands with my *Lord Dundee, and there* raised his clans, it would *have tended more to* King James's interest. But

men of great estates don't like to run great hazards.

Dundee went to Linlithgow the first night after he left Edinburgh, and the next day he passed Stirling bridge, and went to his own house at Didhope, near Dundee, where he staid some days. Afterwards he was pursued by General Mackay, with 15 troops of horse, through Perthshire, Angus, Aberdeenshire, Buchan, Banff, Moray, and Nairn; and, on the first of May 1689, Dundee, with 150 horse, joined Macdonald of Kippoch, who lay before Inverness with 900 men, forcing them to perform their allegiance to King James, who, eight days before my Lord's arrival, had proclaimed the Prince of Orange king; and for some other unneighbourly practices of the town of Inverness and the Macintoshes, against Kippoch's people, when he and his brother were in Ireland with King James. But family quarrels being no part of my history, I decline them.

The town of Inverness gave Kippoch 2000 dollars to be gone. Dundee mildly composed all their disputes, and shewed himself so generous a peacemaker, that he gave his bond for the money. Afterwards Dundee sent friendly for Macintosh, to reconcile him and Kippoch together, who denied coming to his Lordship, though they were relations. Upon which Dundee ordered Kippoch to drive away Macintosh's cattle, some of which were kept for the service of the army, and the rest were sent to Kippoch's tenants. Then Dundee marched to Kippoch, and staid six weeks, and from

thence, privately, with 150 horse, to Perth, where, early in the morning, he took the Lairds of Blair and Pollock prisoners, 30 horses, and 9000 merks of the king's cess and excise. Then he marched to Dundee, where the citizens shut the gates, and denied him entrance. From thence he went to his own house, Didhope, about half a mile above Dundee, and tarried two nights with his lady. He returned to Kippoch, where he remained six weeks, and from thence marched with 1500 foot and 200 horse, to Badenoch, against General Mackay and the Laird of Grant, who had about 6000 men, and chaced them day and night till they passed Strathbogy, where he encamped three days at Edinglassy. On the fourth day he received intelligence that Sir John Laneer's regiment of horse, a regiment of dragoons, Ramsay's regiment, and other two regiments of foot, had joined General Mackay, which obliged him to retreat to Kippoch, where he remained six weeks, till he was joined by the Honourable Sir Donald of the Isles, with 500 men, who, by reason of an indisposition, was obliged to return home, but left his son, young Sir Donald, with my Lord Dundee. Then his Lordship appointed all the clans, with their friends and followers, to meet him at the Blair of Athol the next Tuesday, and that himself, the Honourable Sir Alexander Macdonald of Glengary, Sir John Maclean, young Sir Donald of the Isles, the Captain of Clan Ranald, and Sir Hugh Cameron of *Lochiel, would go* and raise the Badenoch and *Athol men against* that day; but his Lordship

marching to Dalnamin, on the Braes of Athol, on Tuesday night, hearing that General Mackay was come to Perth, which obliged his Lordship to hasten his march to the Blair of Athol, where he arrived on Saturday the 13th of June 1689, at 12 o'clock. In the afternoon his Lordship's spies returned, and told him, that General Mackay, with his army, consisting of nine regiments of foot, and two troops of horse, were marching through the pass of Gillicrankie. On hearing that intelligence, my Lord Dundee immediately marched his army, consisting of 1800 foot and 45 horse, to the hills on the north side of the water Tumble, where General Mackay's army appeared to be marshalled in one line, and three men in a file, in a young bushy wood, having a plain before them, and a plain at the foot of the little hills behind them, near the river Tumble.

The Clans earnestly intreated Dundee not to engage in person, and told his Lordship their method of fighting was quite different from that of regular troops; again desired him to consider, that if he should be killed, King James's interest would be lost in Scotland. But no argument could dissuade him from engaging at the head of his troops. General Mackay's army out-winged Dundee's near a quarter of a mile, which obliged the Clans to leave large intervals between each Clan; and by declining towards the wings, they wanted troops to charge the centre, where a detachment of Lesly and Hastings' English regiments were. The Highlanders threw away their plaids, haversacks, and

all other utensils, and marched resolutely and deliberately in their shirts and doublets, with their fusils, swords, targets, and pistols ready, down the hill on the enemy, and received Mackay's third fire, before they pierced his line, in which many of the Highland army fell, particularly the Lord Viscount Dundee, their general, the terror of the Whigs, the supporter of King James, and the glory of his country. Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in upon the enemy with sword, target, and pistol, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, there were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe, as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck, to the very breasts; others had skulls cut off above their ears like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow; pikes and small swords were cut like willows; and whoever doubts of this, may consult the witnesses of the tragedy.

The detachments of Hastings and Lesly's regiments, maintained their ground till it was night, because Dundee wanted troops to charge them; and as they marched through the pass of Gillicrankie, they were so furiously attacked by the Athol men on the front, and by the Highlanders that had been in the battle on the rear, that every man of them were either taken prisoners or killed. In the battle, the Highlanders, besides their

unparalelled General Dundee, lost the brave Pitcur, who, like a moving castle in the shape of a man, threw fire and sword on all sides against his enemy. Colonel Gilbert Ramsay, Macdonald of Largo, his tutor, and all his family, Glengary's brother, and many of his relations, and five cousin germans of Sir Donald of the Isles, with many private Highlanders.

General Mackay lost his brother Colonel Mackay, Colonel Balfour, with about 2000 officers and soldiers, and was beat quite out of the field, himself very narrowly escaping with about 20 horse.

The first officer that left his post in Mackay's army, was the Lord Leven; the glistering and clashing of the Highlandmens' swords and targets, scared his horse so much, that he run six miles before he could draw bridle, which the brave Pittarthy can witness. No doubt, if her Majesty had been rightly informed of his care of the castle of Edinburgh, where there was not ten barrels of powder when the Pretender was on the coast of Scotland, and of his courteous behaviour to the ladies, particularly how he whipped the Lady Mortonhall, but she would have made him general for life.

After the battle, Dundee's and Pitcur's corpse were intombed in the church of Blair of Athol; and the next day Major-General Cannin, who commanded the Highlanders, marched to Dunkeld, where he stayed two days to refresh his troops, and was joined by the Stewarts of Appin, *the Macgregors*, and the whole country of Athol.

From thence he marched to the Braes of Mar, where the Farquharsons, Kippoch, young Lochiel, Frazers, Gordons of Strathdown and Glenlivet, and 200 Macphersons, joined him. Then he marched to Kildrummy, where they were joined with 300 horse; and thence marching to the castle of Achendown, he received intelligence that General Mackay, with his army, was 6 miles from them, at the castle of Strathbogy.

At the castle of Achendown, Major-General Cannin received orders from King James in Ireland, to march to Argyleshire and Kintyre. His Majesty, knowing well the innate rebellious spirit of those shires, thought it expedient to suppress them first. A council of war was called at Achendown castle, where it was argued, whether the low country officers should sit in that council of war. The Highlanders were of opinion they should not, because they had no troops under their immediate command; and they neither knew their method of discipline nor way of fighting. Major-General Cannin, with the noble Earl of Dunfermline's interest, carried it against the Clans, that the low country officers should sit in the council of war, where the disputes and controversies amongst them contributed very much to the detriment of King James's interest in the Highlands.

The Clans were for fighting General Mackay immediately, and placing garrisons in the castle of *Strathbogy,* Gordon castle, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, *and Inverness;* and afterwards to march through *Lochaber into Argy*leshire and Kintyre. But it

was carried against the Clans, that the army should march, without fighting General Mackay, through Aberdeenshire, and over the Cairn of Mount, over the hills of Merns and Angus, till they came to Dunkeld, where my Lord Angus's regiment lay in garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland; and though that regiment had the advantage of walls, hedges, ditches, houses, and the like, the Highlanders beat them from their advanced posts out of the town, where they were well covered, and from the town into the Marquis of Athol's house, which is a very strong garrison, where they killed the Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, and many other officers and soldiers. The Highlanders suffered a very inconsiderable loss.

Major-General Cannin marched with his army from Dunkeld to the Blair of Athol, where he stayed six days. That winter Major-General Buchan, the Lord Seafort, Colonel Brown, and some other officers, came from King James in Ireland, to Sir Donald of the Isles; and Buchan, by his commission, being eldest Major-General, commanded the army, and desired each Clan to give him 100 men, promising with them to raise the low countries. The Clans gave him 1500 men, with whom he marched from Kippoch to Kilwinning, at the end of Lochness; thence over Strathspey, and stayed on the north side of the river ten days. From thence he marched to Culmakill, where he called a council of war to determine his *next day's march*; and it was unanimously agreed, *that they should* march the next day to the wood

of Glenlochy; but Major-General Buchan marched down the river of Spey to Crumdale, though all the Clans positively protested against that march.

On May 1st, Major-General Buchan had about 1500 men at Crumdale, lodged in villages round the country, and his advanced guards advantageously posted, when the want of intelligence, and the negligence of two captains, Brodie and Grant, each of them commanding 100 men at the church, on the river Spey, suffered Sir Thomas Livingston, with 17 troops of dragoons, 900 of Grant's men, and three regiments of foot, to pass the river and church without any opposition, who fell upon Buchan and his Highlanders sleeping in their tents and houses, and killed several of them, but to their expence, for the Highlanders fought in their shirts, with swords and targets, and killed so many of the dragoons and their horses, that Sir Thomas never attempted any pursuit.

Afterwards, as is usual with the Highlanders, having been six weeks from their families, and wanting provision, they returned home to their respective habitations; and when they heard General Mackay was marching north, with an army of 20 battalions and squadrons, to put a garrison in Innerlochy, they drew to a body, but had not force sufficient to engage Mackay. Therefore it was agreed, that Major-General Buchan should march to Aberdeenshire, where he met with the Master of Forbes, and Colonel Jackson, at the head of a considerable body of horse, who appeared at first

as if they designed to give General Buchan battle; but his Mastership understanding the word of command, *wheel*, better than *advance*, turned the battle into a race, and won; for he was first at Aberdeen, and alarmed the town with a frightful outcry, *The enemy, the enemy's coming.* Then all their engineers and skilful men were called to man their walls, plant guns, patteraros, and other warlike engines, upon them, though Major-General Buchan never designed to attack them.

At the same time Major-General Cannin marched from Lochaber to Perthshire, and from thence to the castle of Aberfoyle, where he attacked the Lord Cardross's dragoons, killed several, and chaced the rest to the park of Stirling. He also burnt the lands of Cammesmore and Edinchip; and afterwards Major-General Buchan and Major-General Cannin, joined in one body, with about 500 horse, all gentlemen in the county of Lennox, and marched north, first to Lochaber, afterwards to Badenoch, and in a few days they dispersed. Major-General Buchan, and his officers, went to the Honourable Sir Alexander Macdonald of Glengary, and General Cannin, and his officers, went to the Honourable Sir Donald Macdonald of the Isles, where they stayed about nine months, till the Earl of Braidalbin came with a commission from King William to treat with the Clans, by offering them L. 20,000 to own his government, and live peaceably. But his Majesty knew not, that the loyalty and honour of the Scots Highlanders was not to be overcome by force, or debauched by treasure:

for they generously scorned the offer as base and unworthy of noble thoughts, and only desired the liberty to send two of their officers to France, to acquaint King James with the state of their affairs, and when they received his orders, they would act accordingly. This favour, with some difficulty, was granted. Then General Buchan, General Cannin, and the Clans, agreed to send Sir George Barclay and Major Menzies, to France, to inform his Majesty of his affairs in the Highlands of Scotland, and of the dreadful miseries and extremities his Clans suffered and were reduced to, and humbly desired to know his royal will and pleasure. His Majesty with grief and concern received their commission, and graciously thanked the Clans for their loyalty, and told the commissioners, that if ever it pleased God to restore him, he would not be unmindful of their loyalty, who, in past ages, had been always faithful to his ancestors; and that if it pleased God to call for him, he had a son, the young prince, who, he doubted not, by God's grace, if he lived, would be in a condition fully to reward their fidelity.

Then his Majesty gave them his orders, that the Clans should make the best articles they could for themselves, and live peaceably and quietly under the government, as established in his kingdoms; and that Major-General Buchan, and Major-General Cannin, and their officers, should agree with the government to be transported to him at St Germains. When the two officers returned from King James to the Highlands, the Major-

Generals Buchan and Cannin, and the Clans, had a treaty with the government at Achalader, in Glenorchy, in Stirlingshire, which with great joy and readiness received the Clans, and made many fair promises, that they should enjoy their liberties and properties as formerly, and should be defended against all their enemies; but the inhuman massacre of Glenco is a memorable, and will be an everlasting testimony, how those fair promises were performed.

The two Major-Generals Buchan and Cannin capitulated for themselves and their officers with the government, and were allowed two ships to transport them to France.

It is evident as demonstration itself, from an exact survey of the Clans' loyalty, courage, and conduct, in the Highlands, that nothing but King James's special command could have put a period to his affairs in that country. They whom no Roman bravery nor policy, though flushed with victory and success wherever they came, could conquer, but were forced to build walls and draw lines, for some 40 miles in length, to defend themselves from their descents and incursions; can we pretend to conquer so bold and martial a people? —A people whom neither the British nor Pictish force, jointly nor separately, was able to subdue: nay, the conquering Saxons, who over-run the south parts of our island, and marched northerly with confirmed resolutions of reducing the whole *under their* subjection, soon found themselves in

mistake, and their career stopped by the ancient Scotch Highlanders!

Do not Danish histories, in red letters, deplore the loss of 15,000 men, who landed in the Frith of Moray, and were entirely cut off by the Highlanders? And if we descend to modern times, we can readily bring to our memories the six remarkable battles gained by the great Montrose with his Highlanders, against the rebels, who were regular troops, and always four times his number; and all English historians not only confess but applaud the gallantry of King Charles the II.'s Highland army at Worcester, who shewed so much resolution and bravery against ten times their number, that even their enemies regretted their misfortunes, and the king himself ordered them to retreat from their posts; and, God be thanked, the loyal blood of their ancestors still freely runs in their childrens' veins, and they are always ready to shed the last drop in her sacred Majesty's service and defence!

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

DUNDEE'S OFFICERS AFTER THEY WENT TO FRANCE.

All hopes of serving King James in the Highlands of Scotland being lost, his officers, in obedience to his commands, capitulated with the government at Edinburgh to be sent to France, which accordingly was performed; and, on their landing, they were sent to Lisle, Burburgh, Arras, and other towns in the French Flanders, where they were subsisted according to the different commissions and characters they bore in Scotland; and, notwithstanding the King of France's misfortunes at La Hogue and Cherburgh, where his fleet was burnt, he still generously continued them on the same footing as before, until September 1692. The officers considering, that, by the loss of the French fleet, King James's restoration would be retarded for some time, and that they were burdensome to the King of France, being entertained in garrisons on whole pay, without doing duty

when he had almost all Europe in confederacy against him; therefore humbly intreated King James to have them reduced to a company of private centinels, and chuse officers among themselves to command them; assuring his Majesty that they would serve in the meanest circumstances, and undergo the greatest hardships and fatigues that reason could imagine, or misfortunes inflict, until it pleased God to restore him. King James commended their generosity and loyalty, but disapproved of what they proposed, and told them, it was impossible that gentlemen who had served in so honourable posts as formerly they enjoyed, and lived in so great plenty and ease, could ever undergo the fatigue and hardships of private centinels duty. Again, that his own first command was a company of officers, whereof several died, others wearied with the fatigue, drew their discharges, till at last it dwindled into nothing, and he got no reputation by the command; therefore he desired them to insist no more on that project. The officers (notwithstanding his Majesty's desire to the contrary) made several interests at court, and harassed him so much, that at last he condescended, and appointed Colonel Thomas Brown captain, Colonel Alexander Gordon, and Colonel Andrew Scott, lieutenants, and Major James Buchan ensign, to the company of officers. I am heartily sorry those gentlemen have given me no opportunity of speaking well of them. It was their ill conduct, particularly Brown's avarice, that ruined the company; for they got a command which they

never expected, and knew as little how to use it, as they deserved it. The noble Earl of Dunfermline, a gentleman whose loyalty, like his honour, admitted no rival, was proposed by the officers to command; but King James being unwilling to want so good counsel, and the Court of St Germains never being without parasites, made his Lordship decline the post, to the great detriment of the gentlemen, and King James's interest. Now a rout is ordered by the court of Versailles, and brought to St Germains, and about 70 of the officers, under the command of Colonel Brown, Colonel Gordon, and Major Buchan, being reviewed in the garden, he made a speech to them after this manner:

KING JAMES'S SPEECH TO THE SCOTS OFFICERS IN THE GARDEN OF ST GERMAINS.

GENTLEMEN,

MY own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours; it grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the stations of private centinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and that of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the Prince of Orange, and who, I know, will be ready on all occasions to serve me and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done

and undergone for your loyalty, hath made so deep an impression in my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have just pretensions to. As for my son, your prince, he is of your own blood, a child capable of any impressions; and as his education will be from you, it is not supposable that he can forget your merits.

At your own desires you are now going a long march, far distant from me; I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessaries. Fear God and love one another: write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon't always to find me your parent and king.

Having thus ended his most gracious speech, his Majesty asked every particular officer his name, and writ it down in his pocket-book; then made them a bow, with his hat in his hand, prayed God to bless and prosper them, and so left them.

About a month after, Colonel Brown went from St Germains, Colonel Scott, with about 50 officers under his command, who had received the like compliment from King James in the garden of St Germains, and marched after him. The distance from St Germains to Perpignan Roussillon, where *the rout* ended, is about 900 miles.

The civil deportment and generous tempers of *the officers, as well* as their characters and misfor-

tunes, engaged all the consuls, leading men, and others, in the towns and villages they passed through, to love, respect, and billet them on the richest people in the place; and every morning before they marched, usually the young ladies in the town were walking on the parade to see them; for they always gained the favours of their landladies and their daughters.

There was nothing remarkable in the routs to Catalonia, but that, two leagues from Montpelier, near the river Rhoan, four of Colonel Scott's officers, wading a rivulet which had been swelled by rains from the mountains, were violently carried down; but catching hold of some bushes, they kept their heads above water: and though there were hundreds of the country people on both sides of the rivulet looking on, they never offered their assistance, only waiting when they should be drowned, to get their cloaths and money: such is the barbarity of these mixed Catalonian French. At last some of their comrades came with ropes, and helped them out.

At Revosaltes, within two leagues of Perpignan, one of the officers was quartered on a farmer; he desired his supper, and to see his bed, as is usual for soldiers in France. His landlord, landlady, and servants fell upon him, beat him unmercifully, and threatened to murder him if he made any noise. The next day, when they came to Perpignan, Colonel Scott made a complaint to Shaseron, lieutenant-general and governor of Roussillon, who *immediately* sent his aid-de-camp to the gentleman

affronted, to beg his pardon in the king of France's name, for the barbarous usage he met with, and assured him he should have all imaginable satisfaction. Two days afterwards, all the furniture in the farmer's house was carried to the market-place and burnt, and himself burnt in the hand and banished France; which shews what respect the king and court of France bear to the officers of the army.

When Colonel Scott, with his officers, came to Perpignan, they drew up in a rank before Lieutenant-General Shaseron's house, where all the ladies of quality in the town assembled, and wept bitterly, to see so many worthy gentlemen, for their loyalty and honour, reduced to the unhappy station of private centinels; and it was boldly asserted by several citizens, that the gentlewomen made a purse of 200 pistoles for the officers, who never heard any thing of the matter. Colonel Scott marched from Perpignan to Canet, on the Mediterranean, and joined Colonel Brown, who lay there with his officers; then the company was formed, and the officers received their arms and cloaths, and were most industrious in practising the exercise of that country; which, with their modest behaviour and patience under their sufferings, recommended them so much to the officers of the French army, that they shewed them more respect than actually belonged to their former commissions, and were often pleased to declare, that a detachment from all the officers in France could not parallel that company. About this time the gentlemen had spent

all their money, and 3d. a-day, with one pound and a half of bread, which is French pay, was too little to support men of their quality, who formerly had lived in so great plenty and affluence; therefore they were forced, in regard to the honour of their country, and the commissions they formerly bore, and for the necessaries and supplies their present ill circumstances required, to sell at Perpignan their scarlet cloaths, laced and embroidered waistcoats, Holland shirts, watches, and rings, so that in very few weeks, no officer in the French army, nor burgess in the city, of any distinction, was in esteem if he wanted an English watch in his fob, or a suit of scarlet cloaths. The ladies bought their rings, and, when their money fell short, the officers were so generous as to exchange them for hair ones. This market continued from November 1692 to the 1st of May 1693, when they went to camp. All that time no gentlemen on earth lived more agreeably and delightfully than they. The wine was good and cheap, and their merchandise procured them money and mistresses. About the middle of March, Major Rutherfoord's company, and Captain John Foster's veteran troops of Dunbarton's regiment, joined the company of officers at Canet, where nothing but loyal healths and honourable schemes were drank and projected for the king's restoration, and preparations made for the ensuing campaign.

The three companies, before they marched to *camp, were* ordered to be reviewed before Marshal *de Noailles* and his court, at Perpignan, in their

soldiers' cloaths; and that morning before they marched from Canet, it was both wanton and melancholy to see the company of officers, so many loyal and worthy gentlemen, their half-pikes turned into firelocks, and their gorgets and sashes into cartouch-boxes and haversacks. As for knapsacks they wanted none, for the linen market of Perpignan had eased them of that trouble. When the three companies were reviewed by Marshal de Noailles and his court, his Excellency desired the company of officers to march a second time by him, and was so well pleased with their appearance, that he presented them with a mule to carry their tents, that cost him fifty pistoles. At this review, the Miquelet officers and the burgesses of Perpignan, attended the Marshal, and made a very handsome appearance in the cloaths and linen they had bought from the officers, who, modestly smiling, said one to another, See what a parade these cuckolds make in our old cloaths. That night the three companies returned to Canet, where they staid some days; whence, on the 1st of May 1693, they marched to camp, and passed the Pyrenean mountains; and on the 20th of the same month they invested Roses. The company of officers suffered very much in that march, for they were obliged to carry their bread, kettles, tent-poles, and pins, with the other utensils of centinels; and camp duty was harder on them than any chore in the army, for they always *mounted* double complements to all partizan, volunteer, *and foraging* parties, especially when there *was any probability* of engaging the enemy. As

for quarter-guards, piquet, and advanced, they were only their diversion and hours of rest.

In the valley of Lamparda, where Roses is situated, the water is muddy and scarce, and the climate supposed by the Spaniards to be very unhealthful to the French; and when King Charles II. of Spain heard Marshal de Noailles with his army was there, he told publicly at Court, he wanted no army to fight them. The company of officers lying under all the inconveniences that an over-hot air, unagreeable with their constitutions, and bad water, could bring upon them, having also nothing to eat but sardinas, horse-beans, and garlick, and little or no money, many of them were thrown into fevers and fluxes; but before I acquaint you with their misfortunes of that nature, I beg leave to give a list of their names.

Lieut. A. Urquhart	Lieut. A. Langlines
Lieut. A. Elfingston	Lieut. A. Arniel
Capt. A. Gordon	Major C. Erskin
Col. A. Maitland	Lieut. C. Lermont
Capt. A. Mackenzie	Capt. C. Patin
Ensign A. Poplar	Capt. C. Campbell
Capt. A. Ramsay	Ensign D. Vipers
Capt. A. Sinclair	Lieut. D. Bane
Capt. A. Trotar	Capt. D. Carmichall
Lieut. A. Urquhart, corporal	Lieut. D. Drummond
	Capt. D. Arneil
Ensign A. Maclane	Lieut. D. Bane, serjeant.
Lieut. A. Simpson, corporal	Capt. D. Camron
	Lieut. E. Davidson

Ensign Æn. Macdonald
Lieut. F. Gordon, serjeant
Capt. G. Buchan
Lieut. G. Edwards
Lieut. G. Heriot
Capt. G. Drummond
Lieut. H. Sutherland
Lieut. J. Gray
Capt. J. Henderson
Lieut. J. Henderson
Capt. J. Innes, corporal
Lieut J. O'Bryan
Capt. J. Montgomery
Capt. J. Clark
Lieut. J. Oswald
Lieut. J. Toucks
Lieut. J. Caruthers
Capt. J. Dunbar
Capt. J. Hamilton
Capt. J. Arnut
Capt. J. Gray
Captain and Engineer, J. Hepburn
Lieut. J. Oglethorp
Capt. J. Riddel
Lieut. J. Paterson
Capt. J. Sinclair
Capt. J. Macintosh
Capt. J. Ogilvie
Lieut. J. Mewrice
Capt. J. Brody
Lieut. P. Dickson
Capt. P. Grahame
Lieut. P. Grahame
Lieut. P. Ogilvie
Lieut. P. Hamilton
Capt. R. Arbuthnot
Lieut. R. Barclay
Lieut. R. Maxwell
Lieut. R. Kinloch
Col. R. Somervell
Lieut. R. Pierce
Lieut. R. Keeth
Lieut. R. Barclay
Capt. S. Maxwell
Capt. S. Windram
Lieut. S. Sexon
Lieut. T. Clark
Lieut. T. Ogilvie
Capt. W. Achmuty
Capt. W. Nisbet
Lieut. W. Collins
Capt. W. Maxwell
Lieut. W. Culbert
Col. W. Davison
Capt. W. Innes
Lieut. W. Menzies
Capt. W. Main
Lieut. W. Lyon, serjeant
Lieut. W. Plummer
Lieut. W. Shewen
Capt. W. Cunningham
Lieut. W. Boyd

Capt. I. Thrycle	Lieut. W. Bruce
Capt. K. Urquhart	Capt. W. Ramsay
Lieut. L. Drummond	Capt. W. Robinson
Lieut. L. Wallace	Lieut. P. Cunningham

Though many of the gentlemen had fevers and fluxes, yet no arguments that Major-General Wachop and the Irish officers could use, were prevalent enough to persuade them to go to Perpignan hospital; but they would continue in camp and do their duty, which was very hard, for there were no pioneers in the army, which obliged the soldiers to cut wood and make fascines to cast up trenches, and raise all the batteries against the town.

The Spaniards are much accustomed to pickeering, who having intelligence, as it was believed in the French army, when the company of officers mounted the trenches with some detachments of the Irish, they sallied out of the town several times into a field of barley, where they were boldly attacked by an equal number of officers, who repulsed them three several times to the draw-bridge in the view of their garrison and French army. A French major-general being present, asked Colonel Scott, who commanded the trenches, why these men always attacked the enemy, and not the others; who told him, that these were of the company of Scots officers, the others Irish: the major-general smiling, asked his pardon, and said, he had often heard *that Scotland* and Ireland were two distinct kingdoms, but never knew the difference till now.

On the 27th of May, the company of officers, and other Scotch companies, were joined by two companies of Irish, to make up a battalion, in order to mount the trenches, and the major part of the officers listed themselves in the company of grenadiers, under the command of the brave Major Rutherford, who, on his way to the trenches, in sight of Marshal de Noailles and his court, marched with his company on the side of the trench, which exposed him to the fire of a bastion, where there were two culverins, and several other guns planted; likewise to the fire of two curtins lined with small shot. Colonel Brown following with the battalion, was obliged in honour to march the same way Major Rutherford had done; the danger whereof the Marshal immediately perceiving, ordered one of his aid-de-camps to command Rutherford to march under cover of the trench, which he did; and if it had been delayed six minutes, the grenadiers and battalion had been cut in pieces. Rutherford, with his grenadiers, marched to a trench next the town, and the battalion to a trench on the rear and flank of the grenadiers, who fired so incessantly on the besieged, that they thought (the breach being practicable) they were going to make their attacks, immediately beat a chamade, and were willing to give up the town on reasonable terms; but the Marshal's demands were so exorbitant, that the governor could not agree to them. The firing began on both sides to be very hot; and they in the town seeing how the grenadiers lay, killed eight of them; the bold Captain

William Ramsay was shot through both legs, and died in two days; and the brave Major Rutherford along the back, and died in three days. When the governor surrendered the town, he enquired of the Marshal what countrymen these grenadiers were, and assured him, 'twas on their account he delivered up the town, because they fired so hotly, that he believed they were resolved to attack the breach; who answered smiling, *Ce sont mes enfans*, they are my children. Again, they are the king of Great Britain's Scotch officers, who shew their willingness to share of his miseries, have reduced themselves to the carrying of arms, and chosen to serve under my command. The next day, when the Marshal rode along the front of the camp, he halted at the company of officers' piquet, and they all surrounded him. Then, with his hat in his hand, he thanked them for their good services in the trenches, and freely acknowledged it was their conduct and courage that obliged the governor to give up the town; and assured them he would acquaint his master with the same, which he accordingly did; for when his son arrived with the news at Versailles, the king having read the letter, immediately took coach to St Germains; and when he had shewn King James the letter, he thanked him for the services his subjects had done in taking Roses in Catalonia; who with concern replied, they were the stock of his British officers, and that he was sorry he could not make better provision *for them.*

At this time Marshal de Noailles was so gene

rous and kind to the officers, that he gave every one of them a pistole, two shirts, a night-cap, two cravats, and a pair of shoes, which Colonel Brown distributed as he thought fit; to some he gave a pistole, without any of the above specified necessaries; to others a pair of shoes, to others a shirt, and to some nothing. All this, as it was surmised by the officers, was done by Colonel Scott's advice. King James likewise gave every officer five pence *per diem*, which was paid monthly, from which Brown made always some deductions, for shoes, stockings, shirts, broken swords, fusils, or some other necessaries the gentlemen wanted, though the King of France allows his soldiers half mounting, and every captain fifty pistoles to make his campaign. All the favours the officers received from King James and Marshal de Noailles, could not preserve their health, but they fell sick every day of fevers, agues, fluxes, of which the Marshal being informed, he desired them to leave the camp, and chuse their own garrison; who humbly thanked his Excellency for his kind offer, but withal told him, they came not to that country to lie within old rotten walls, when the King of France (who was so kind to their Master), had business in the field; therefore begged his excuse, and would not leave the camp while one man of them was alive. About the middle of June 1693, the army marched from Roses to Piscador, where 10,000 *did not* arrive in the camp of 26,000, but were left *on the way, by reason* of the extraordinary heat *and want of water.* The generals being afraid the

Spanish army should attack their rear, ordered all the piquet to be drawn out immediately, and to march; but the greatest part of the army not being come up to the ground, the corporals could not get their complements to the piquets; in this accident, all the company of officers that were in the camp mounted for their comrades, and marched to the parade of the piquet, where the generals, seeing only that piquet of the officers in readiness and good order, said one to another, *Le gentilhomme est toujours gentilhomme, et se montre toujours tel dans le besoin, et dans le danger:* gentlemen are gentlemen, and will always shew themselves such in time of need and danger. About the middle of July they re-past some of the Pyrenees, and cantoned in Ville France, at the foot of Mount Canigo, till about the 20th of August, when they marched to Mount Escu, where Major-General Wachop, with some Irish troops, went to Savoy. Afterwards they made a second campaign on the plains of Cerdanna, and on the 1st of November returned to Perpignan, where they staid twelve days, thence marched to Tourellers for winter quarters, where they received a rout to march to Alsace, which was procured by the interest of the officers friends and acquaintances at St Germains, who heard of their sickness in Catalonia, and made intercession with King James to have them removed to another province that was more healthful and agreeable to their constitutions, which they thought to be Alsace, by reason of its coldness, which proved worse, as will afterwards appear. But before we leave

Catalonia, I beg leave to give you a list of the names of the officers that died of the natural diseases of the country, and by the fatigues and hardships of the campaign.

In Perpignan Hospital died,

Capt. J. Sinclair
Capt. J. Dunbar
Lieut. W. Culbert
Lieut. T. Gordon
Lieut. W. Bruce
Lieut. A. Langlins
Capt. E. Murrayman
Capt. J. Henderson
Lieut. G. Edwards
Capt. C. Patin
Lieut. D. Bane
Lieut. W. Lyon, serjeant
Lieut. J. Gray
Capt. D. Cameron
Lieut. E. Cockeran
Lieut. D. Drummond
Capt. S. Windram died at Tourelles
Capt J. Keith and Lieut. A. Urquhart, died at Colliver.

Here is plainly seen the difference between gentlemen who are tenderly and plentifully brought up, and the poorer sort, who are pinched of all necessaries. The other two companies, who were all Scotchmen, had less pay, and did equal duty with the company of officers, lost not four men the whole campaign; whereas the company of officers, for want of good eating and drinking, cloaths, linen, and other necessaries, and by the extraordinary fatigues of guards and marches, were thrown into fluxes and fevers that carried them off.

The rout from Catalonia to Alsace, after this *loss, no doubt* was acceptable to the officers, but *surprizing to* Marshal de Noailles, who had used

them with so much kindness: he immediately sent for Colonel Brown, and shewed him his order to march, and desired Brown to inform him, on his honour, if the gentlemen had received any affront from him or his officers, he would make them all imaginable satisfaction; and further declared, it was his resolution to provide for them all in his army, according to the posts they had enjoyed under King James, and that he never had troops under his command he respected so much as them, and was heartily sorry to part with them; but the king's orders must be obeyed.

On the 4th of December 1693, the company of officers, with the other two Scotch companies, began their march from Tureilles in Roussillon, to Silistad in Alsace: as for the gentlemen, in many respects, they were very fit for that march; for the market of Perpignan eased them of that trouble they used to have in hiring mules for their baggage, that when they left the country, the most frugal of them could carry his equipage in a handkerchief, and many had none at all: and the fatigues and hardships of the campaign had reduced their bodies so low, that many of them looked rather like shadows and skeletons, than men; their coats were old and thin, many of their breeches wanted lining, and their stockings and shoes were tore and wore in pieces; so that by the time they came to Lyons, where they kept their Christmas, their miseries and wants were so many and great, *that I am* ashamed to express them; yet no man *that conversed* with them could accuse them of

disloyal thought, or the least uneasiness under their misfortunes. When they got over their bottles, (which was but seldom), their conversation was of pity and compassion for the king and young gentleman, and how his Majesty might be restored without any prejudice to his subjects.

Notwithstanding all these misfortunes which the officers were under, Colonel Brown left them at Romans, in Dauphiny, and went to St Germains, without giving any of them a farthing to buy the necessaries they wanted, though he had above two months gratification-money (as they called it) from King James, at five pence *per diem* to every officer; such was the ill fortune of those worthy gentlemen, to have a person of such ill principles to command them. Three days after they marched from Lyons, through the country of Brace, a storm of snow fell three feet deep, and covered the ground until the latter end of February, so that, as they marched through the confines of Burgundy, the French Comte, and part of Alsace, where there was a famine, and great scarcity of all manner of provisions, the frost and cold was so vehement and piercing, and the king's allowance in the tap so small, that the officers were like to be starved with hunger and cold. Captain Alexander Sinclair was left sick at Bizanson, and there died. On that march many of the officers gave themselves over for lost and dead men; and how could it be otherwise, for they saw nothing as they passed, but a *half-starved people* in some houses, and the rest *empty? When they* arrived at Silistad, where they

were to garrison, the governor, who was their countryman, town-major, and the rest of the officers of the garrison, received them with incredible civility, and invited several of them frequently to dine and sup with them; but it was so extremely cold, and all sorts of provision so excessive dear, that the officers were obliged to open a second market at Silistad, of silver-handled swords, snuff-boxes, seals, silver buckles, periwigs, and, wherever they came, they had always a running market of ruffles, cravats, stockings, and the like. In the beginning of the tragedy, some used to say, this is the seal of our family, I got it from my grandfather, therefore I'll never part with it; others, I got this ring from my mother or mistress, I'll rather be damn'd than sell it: but when the gentleman *Poverty*, came amongst them, he carried off every thing fair and clean, without any exception or distinction, and all the donors' returns, were their healths tossed about in a bumper, with a remnant of old Latin, *Necessitas non habet legem.* At Silistad, the officers were in very great want, provisions dear, the bread six pence per pound, and their pay was but three pence *per diem*, so that all they could purchase was a few horse-beans, turnips, colworts, or a little yellow seed, which they boiled in water, to keep life and soul together. They were certainly very religious, for they kept Lent all the year round. Though their sufferings and hardships in Alsace far exceeded any misfortunes they met with *in Catalonia, yet* it was observed by all strangers *that conversed with* them, that even in their great

est extremities they never repined, nor accused King James for his own or their calamities; but with a primitive Christian patience and courage, humbly submitted themselves to providence, knowing and believing that God was just, and would, at his appointed time, establish the royal family in the throne.

The only friends the company of officers had along with them in their travels, were Captain Foster and Captain Drycot, who commanded the other two companies; they often treated them, and supplied them with necessaries, as far as their circumstances would permit; and I should not forgive myself if I forgot honest Captain George Shyn, who never let a gentleman want a dinner nor a bottle of wine, when he had money in his pocket. As for Colonel Brown, Gordon, Scott, and Major Buchan, who cheated them of the five pence *per diem* that King James allowed them, it is not to be presumed the gentlemen often troubled their tables. In Silistad, June 10th 1694, on the young gentleman's birth-day, Colonel Brown invited many of the officers to a treat, and to drink the king, young gentleman, and queen's healths, where some of them, particularly Lieutenant Patrick Dickson, told him frankly, how ill he had used them, and that, if his Majesty was rightly informed, he would lose his commission, and be for ever banished the king's presence. On this the *company broke up, and* it became a very good excuse *afterwards for the* Colonel, never to give a *tenth day of June's* treat to any of the company of

officers. That year the company of officers, and the other two, lay in garrison at Silistad all that campaign, because of their hard march from Catalonia, the sickness that was amongst them, and their not being able to make up a battalion. There died in Silistad, Captain William Main, Captain David Carmichael, Ensign Allan Maclean, Lieutenant Turner, and Lieutenant Andrew Simpson, corporal, all in the company of officers; and the news thereof being carried a second time to St Germains, King James, who had always a paternal tenderness for all his subjects, especially for that honourable company of loyalists, sent immediately orders to Colonel Brown, to give as many of the officers their discharges as pleased, and that they should make the best of their way to St Germains. Upon the receiving of his Majesty's letter, the Colonel assembled the company, and reading it to them, jesuitically desired the favour of the gentlemen to stay six months, till he had got recruits from Flanders and France, for the company; but all his design was to have the days short, and roads deep, that they could not march; which stratagem did not take, for they staid till November, and then the following gentlemen, viz.

Capt. C. Campbell	Captain and Engineer J. Hepburn
Capt. R. Arbuthnot	
Capt. J. Macintosh	Lieut. J. Oglethorp
Capt. J. Hamilton	Lieut. R. Killoch
Capt. P. Hamilton	Lieut. P. Dickson
Capt. D. Arneil	Lieut. J. Paterson

Capt. W. Auchmuty Capt. Isaac Thrycle.
Lieut. J. Mewrice

demanded their discharges, and went to St Germains, where they met with a gracious reception from his Majesty, and had it put to their choice, either to stay at St Germains upon a handsome subsistence, or, with other officers, to have a sum of money to carry them to their own country. But they stayed some days at Court without any determination; in which time the young gentleman went to Marli for his diversion; and, as is usual, took coach at the gate, where he saw four of the company of officers, whom he knew by their soldiers' cloaths, and beckoned to them. The gentlemen made haste, and all kneeling, kissed his hand, which was the second time. He told them he was sorry for their misfortunes, and that he hoped to live to see his Majesty in a condition to reward their sufferings; as for himself, he was but a child, and did not understand much, but, according to the rude notions he had of government, and the affairs of the world, they were men of honour and loyal subjects, and had, by their sufferings, laid such obligations upon him in his childhood, that he could never forget them. When he had thus expressed himself, he gave them his purse, and desired they would divide it amongst them, and go drink his Majesty and the Queen's health; withal he told them, he was sorry the Queen allowed him no more money. Then he *went to his coach*, and they to the Prince of *Orange's head tavern*, where they spoke no trea-

son, nor burnt pretenders. There were ten pistoles and three half-crowns in the purse; and after they divided the money, there was like to be a quarrel about the purse, for the sake of the donor; the noise whereof being instantly carried to the Court, some of the nobility sent a footman, in the king's name, for the purse, which was sent, though his Majesty knew nothing of the matter. Often afterwards, when the young gentleman in his walks in the garden, saw any of the officers, he gave them pistoles, half-pistoles, or what money he had about him, and desired them to go dine, and tell no person he had given them any thing. When he dined, if he had not seen several of the officers standing by his table, he used to say, he admired where his Scotch Protestant officers were, and confess, of all the subjects that followed King James, he loved them best: as for priests, he could never endure them; and when any stood by his table, he used, with a stern and angry countenance, to say, they had ruined his father, but they should never serve him so. Observe, that in all this honourable company of officers, there were not four Roman Catholics; but several young Protestant divines, who at the revolution, when the Episcopal clergy of Scotland were mobbed and murdered by the Presbyterians, went to the Highlands with Dundee, who, for their good services, gave them commissions, and after his death went to France.

The account the officers gave King James and the Court of France of their sufferings, and ill usage they received from Colonel Brown, together

with some insolent language he gave the noble Earl of Dunfermline, who was sacred to the court and the officers, rendered him so ridiculous, that no gentleman would converse with him. He had likewise a rencounter with Captain Robert Arbuthnot, one of the officers, at the castle-gate of St Germains, where both drew, and made several pushes, but were prevented by the guards; and when the rencounter was examined by the Duke of Powis, Brown was ordered to beg Arbuthnot pardon.

But the brown fox, whose practices were agreeable to his education, notwithstanding all the ills he was guilty of, had yet a hole to run into. He drew up a certificate at St Germains, of the many services he had done to the officers, which he sent to Silistad, to Colonel Scott and Major Buchan, who prevailed with the governor to assemble the company, and desire them to subscribe it, which, by Scott and Buchan's insinuations, a few did, and many did not. But when it was brought to St Germains, and presented to his Majesty, all the officers names in the company were at it; whence some believed, and Brown's friends positively affirmed, the officers had been very much in the wrong to him, and that he had done them justice, till letters came from Silistad shewing the contrary, and that the major part of the officers had protested against it, particularly five or six English gentlemen, who told the governor, that King James allowed them five pence *per diem* extraordinary, and that it was monthly paid to Colonel Brown, who never had accounted with them for

it. Again, when Roses was taken, that Marshal de Noailles gave every officer in the company a pistole, two shirts, a pair of shoes, a night-cap, and two cravats; and that Brown had given some gentlemen the pistole, but no shirt or shoes; to others a shirt, or pair of shoes, but no pistole; so that he did with the Marshal's present what he pleased. Again, a mule that cost Marshal de Noailles fifty pistoles, which he presented to the officers to carry their tents, was sold by Major Buchan, and he never accounted with them for the money. Many other grievances like unto these were exhibited to the governor, who was both surprised and ashamed to appear in Colonel Brown's behalf, so that letters came from Silistad, shewing what objections the officers made to the governor against the certificate, and that not a third part of the gentlemen had subscribed it; upon which Colonel Brown was slighted by every body, and ordered to his command in Silistad. Afterwards, all the officers in the company were exactly paid 10d. *per diem.* The only material thing that was transacted while the company of officers, and the other two, were at Silistad, was, that in 1694, Prince Lewis of Baden, with his army of eighty thousand men, passed the Rhine, and staid three weeks in Alsace, which he designed to bring under contribution. Then the three Scotch companies, with a battalion of French, and a battalion of the Namur regiment, were in garrison in Silistad, where *the governor* was apprehensive of a siege, and was *often pleased* to declare publicly, that, if he was

besieged, he depended more on the service of these three companies, particularly on that of the officers, than he did on the two battalions. But Prince Lewis of Baden, receiving intelligence that Marshal de Boufflers was advancing with 15,000 horse and dragoons, left all his baggage, and retreated in confusion, broke his bridges as he passed the Rhine, and drowned 3000 of his own men: in the mean time, there was 100 hussars of his army foraging and plundering in Alsace, and the next day, when they came to their camp, they were surprised to hear French drums, and that their own army were repassed the Rhine, and they left on the French side, but immediately resolved to march through Alsace, and make the best of their way to Basil, whereof Marshal de Lorge had intelligence, and dispatched couriers to all the governors to send out their garrisons, and line all the ways through which they thought those hussars might pass. The governor of Silistad being glad of an opportunity to serve the company of officers, sent them to guard a pass, where he knew the hussars must infallibly come; who marching directly thither, were informed by a Jew, that if they advanced any farther, every man of them would be either taken or killed, for there was a company of the King of Britain's officers that lay in wait for them. They immediately returned to Strasburg, and gave themselves up as prisoners, where they declared, that if they could have passed that company of officers, they would not have been afraid of all the garrisons in Alsace, but

marched quite through, and crossed the Rhine at Basil in Switzerland. In February 1695, the company of officers, and the other two, marched from Silistad to Old Brisac, whence the company of officers were sent to Fort Cadette in the Rhine, where they lay one year and four months; thence they marched to Strasburg, and, in December 1697, General Stirk appeared with 16,000 men on the other side of the Rhine, which obliged the Marquis de Sell to draw out all the garrisons in Alsace, who made up about 4000 men; and he encamped on the other side of the Rhine, over against General Stirk, to prevent his passing the Rhine, and carrying a bridge over into an island in the middle of the Rhine, which the French foresaw would be of great prejudice to them, and that the enemy's guns planted on that island would extremely gall their camp, which they could not hinder, for the deepness of the water, and their wanting of boats, for which the Marquis quickly sent, but coming too late, the Germans had carried a bridge over into the island, where they posted above 500 men, who, by the orders of their engineers, entrenched themselves; which the company of officers perceiving, who always grasped after honour, and scorned all thoughts of danger, resolved to wade the river, and attack the Germans in the island; and for that effect, desired Captain John Foster, who then commanded them, to beg of the Marquis, that they might have liberty to attack the Germans in the island, who told Captain Foster, when the boats came up, they should be the

first that attacked: Foster courteously thanked the Marquis, and told him, they would wade into the island, who shrunk up his shoulders, prayed God to bless them, and desired them to do what they pleased. Captain Foster went immediately to the company of officers, who, with the other two, got privately to their arms, it being under night, and tied their arms, shoes, and stockings, about their necks, advanced quietly to the banks of the river, went softly in, and waded hand in hand, according to the Highland fashion, where the water was as high as their breasts; and as soon as they passed the depth of the river, they halted, untied their cartouch-boxes and firelocks, (all this while the Germans in the island were very busy in entrenching themselves), then they marched with rested firelocks, and poured in a whole volley of shot on them; at which surprise, the enemy ran in confusion, broke down their own bridges, and several of them were drowned; the officers pursuing them close, killed several of them. When the Marquis de Sell heard the firing, and understood that the Germans were beat out of the island, he made the sign of the cross on his face and breast, and declared publicly, that it was the bravest action that ever he saw, and that his army had no honour by it.

As soon as the boats came, the Marquis sent into the island to acquaint the officers he would *send* them both troops and provisions, who thanked *his Excellency,* and desired he should be informed, *that they* wanted no troops, and could not

spare time to make use of provisions, and only desired spades, shovels, and pick-axes, wherewith they might entrench themselves, which were immediately sent to them. The next morning the Marquis came into the island, and kindly embraced every officer, and thanked them for the good service they had done his Master, assuring them, he would write a true account of their honour and bravery to the Court of France, which, at the reading his letters, immediately went to St Germains, and thanked King James for the services his subjects had done on the Rhine.

The Marquis gave every one of the company of officers a pistole, and they encamped six weeks on that island when it was covered with snow, and there were no fires to be kindled in the night-time, neither durst any man sleep under pain of death. General Stirk made several attempts to surprise the island and pass the Rhine, but the officers were so watchful, that all his endeavours were in vain, so that he was forced to decamp, and retreat to the country; and that island is called at present *Isle d'Escosse*, and will in likelihood bear that name until the general conflagration. Afterwards the company of officers, with the other two, returned to Strasburg, where they lay two years in garrison. In the year 1696, a party of hussars passed the Rhine above Fort Louis, which the Marquis having intelligence of, sent out the company of officers, who attacked the hussars in a wood, and killed several of them, got a few horses, and some baggage. Then the hussars immediately retreat-

ed over the Rhine; and this was the last action of those gentlemen, for, in a few weeks thereafter, a treaty of peace was proposed, and King William would agree to nothing, until that company of officers was broke; and, when the peace was concluded, the three companies marched from Strasburg to Silistad, where they were broke. The company of officers had liberty to go where they pleased, but the other two companies were joined unto my Lord Malock's dragoons. Of that company of officers there are not sixteen living.

And thus was dissolved one of the best companies that ever marched under command; gentlemen, who, in the midst of all their pressures and obscurity, never forgot they were gentlemen, and whom the sweets of a brave, a just, and an honourable conscience, rendered perhaps more happy under those sufferings, than the most prosperous and triumphant in iniquity, since our minds stamp our happiness.

THE

SIEGE

OF THE

CASTLE OF EDINBURGH.

THE Cameronians who guarded the convention of Estates at Edinburgh, being equally unhappy in their tempers, as in their principles of religion, maltreated every person that had served in King Charles II.'s or King James's reigns, and threatened often to pull his Grace the Duke of Gordon out of the castle, fired on his centries, and committed many insufferable abuses both in city and country, which obliged his Grace to cut the wooden bridge over the moat without the castle, where he ordered a single plank to be laid over, which could be removed at pleasure, to draw up the drawbridge, and to post guards and centries round the castle, which his enemies were pleased to say was done to the best advantage.

On the 11th of November 1688, at night, 33 Highlanders came into the castle, and 44 soldiers, who refused to serve under his Grace's command, *went out, who,* at the low guard, were stripped of *their soldiers'* cloaths by Serjeant Tod. The next

day the Convention sent the Marquis of Tweeddale to capitulate with his Grace, with a proposal of a year's pay to every soldier, upon the surrender of the castle, who courteously begged the Marquis to excuse him to the Convention, and to acquaint them, That it was inconsistent with his honour to give up the castle without his Master King James's orders. The Marquis returned with this answer to the Convention, who immediately ordered my Lord Leven and the Cameronians to besiege the castle. The first work those experienced officers and soldiers undertook, was to draw a trench from the West-Port to the West-Kirk, which was performed with so great ignorance, that if his Grace had not been merciful, and a lover of his countrymen, he might have killed the most part of them, and done great mischief to the city of Edinburgh. After the Lord Leven and his Cameronians had thrown away some weeks in the siege, Sir John Lanecr undertook it with equal success: then General Mackay, the ungrateful General Douglas, and Captain Brown, came with some mortars and bombs from England, and they raised a battery at the Multrees-hill, another at the Castle of Collops, and another at Heriot's Work, behind which Captain Brown had a bomb-battery. The battery at the Castle of Collops made a breach in the wall near the back-gate, but the steepness of the hill made it impracticable. *The other two batteries* were of no use, and very *much betrayed their* Excellencies ignorance in be*sieging of towns.* The next thing they ordered,

was to carry wool-packs to the Castle-hill, and lay them near the Blue-stone; but the castle fired so hotly upon them with great and small shot, that they were forced to desist from that enterprise. Then they drained the North Loch, thinking that would dry up the well in the castle; nor did that succeed, for the castle well had always two fathom of water; and these were all the schemes projected to take the castle, which signified nothing, for the castle was impregnable; and his Grace being of an affable and courteous temper, and King James's interest so strong in and about Edinburgh, that the garrison never wanted good intelligence, fresh provisions, and other necessaries, and all the loss he sustained, was a brewing of ale, and one centinel, Patrick Kelly; whereas the besiegers lost above 500 men; so that the ammunition being embezzled by Captain Drummond, storekeeper, was the only reason that obliged his Grace to give up the castle on the 13th of June 1689.

THE

SIEGE

OF

THE BASS.

THE Bass is a strong rock in the Frith of Forth, standing between Fife and East Lothian, within five miles of Dunbar, in which there was a garrison of 50 men, commanded by a captain and his respective officers, whereof Charles Maitland was governor, 1688, and defended it strenuously for his Master King James, till 1690. Then having small hopes of King James's restoration, wanting provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, was forced to give it up to the government, who made Mr Fletcher of Salton governor; he having four of King James's officers prisoners, they boldy surprised the garrison, and sent all the soldiers ashore; which being reported in the country, where there were many loyal families, they were supplied with men, provisions, and ammunition. Intelligence thereof being carried to France to King James, there was a ship sent with all sorts of provisions and stores, and two boats, one that carried two patteraroes, twelve musquets, and rowed with 12 oars, and another smaller boat.

But afterwards, their provisions falling short, the garrison sent the twelve-oared boat by night, to bring off some sheep and other necessaries, which they frequently received from their friends; and the government being informed thereof, sent some companies to guard the coast, who surprised several of the garrison when they came ashore; and thereby their communication with the land being stopped, they went out by night in their boats, and took several ships, one laden with salt; whence having taken what was convenient, she was ransomed from Edinburgh; a Dutch dogger, which they plundered, and put off again, and a ship laden with wheat, which they thought to have carried to the Bass; but the wind proving contrary, drove them to the coast of Montrose, where she run ashore, and the men getting safe to land, dispersed in the country; and, falling again short of provisions, they went in their boat to the Isle of May, where they took several sheep, and what coals their boat could carry. But the government being enraged at their repeated boldness, King William ordered the whole revenue of the kingdom to be expended on their reduction, and on that account sent two frigates, one of 60, and another of 50 guns, which lay battering two days without doing any damage to the garrison, though the ships had several of their men killed, and their rigging and sails cut and shattered, and their ships were so much damnified, that they cost the treasury of Scotland about L. 500 to repair them.

Afterwards there were two ships appointed co

stantly to attend that service, whereby the garrison was rendered incapable of procuring any provisions by the use of the boats; however, there came after some time, a small privateer from Dunkirk, laden with rusk and other necessaries. But the garrison became so weak of men, that they had not hands enough to hoist up the rusk, but were obliged to borrow ten sailors to assist them; and, when they had got only 7 bags into the garrison, the largest of the two ships bore down upon the privateer, who was forced to cut her cables, to prevent her being run down, so that the garrison was then in a worse condition for holding out than before, having ten sailors added to their number, and only seven bags of rusk, which could serve but a short time; wherefore the governor was obliged to put each man of the garrison to the allowance of two ounces of raw rusk dough in 24 hours.

About that time, Mr Trotter was taken and condemned for aiding and assisting the place, and Captain Alexander Haliburton, Captain William Fraser, Mr William Witham, and Mr William Nicolson, who belonged to the garrison, were taken on shore, and condemned to be hanged; and the day of Mr Trotter's execution being come, the gibbet was erected at Castletown, and he being brought to the place, a gun was fired from the Bass, amongst the crowd, which terrified them, and obliged them to remove the gibbet to a farther distance, where he was hanged. The rest, who lay in prison at Edinburgh under condemnation, were

reprieved from time to time, till set at liberty by the capitulation.

At last, the garrison being reduced to five or six days provision, according to the above mentioned allowance, put out a flag of truce, whereupon the government sending to know what they wanted, the garrison replied, that they would surrender upon terms, and drew up their own articles; upon which, the honourable privy-council sent two of their number to the Bass, to acquaint them what conditions they would grant. The governor, who had saved some bottles of the best French wine and brandy, and some fine bisket, made them drink plentifully, telling them there was no scarcity of provisions, and, unless he had his own terms, he would not surrender, delivering at the same time his articles to their Lordships; and after they were gone, he ordered all the caputs, coats, and hats, in the garrison, to be put on the muzzels of musquets, to make them believe the place was full of men; upon which their Lordships returned to the council, and reported how they were treated, and that the garrison was in every respect well provided, which induced the honourable council to comply with the governor's articles, which were,

I. That the garrison should come ashore with their swords about them, and there should be a ship appointed by the government, with fresh provisions, to transport such of them as were willing to go to Dunkirk or Havre-de-grace; and that, in

a month after the surrender, those who pleased to stay at home, might live without disturbance.

II. That all they had taken, or what belonged to them after they surprised the place, they should be allowed to dispose of to the best advantage, together with their boats, and all things pertaining to any of them.

III. That such of them as should incline to go abroad, might stay at Edinburgh until the ship was ready, without molestation, and have so much a-day, according to their several stations.

IV. That all who had belonged to the garrison, or had aided or assisted it, should have the benefit of the capitulation; and those who were dispersed over the kingdom, should have a time to come in; and those who were condemned in prison, or otherwise distressed, should be set at liberty the same day the garrison should come ashore, without any fees or other charges whatsoever.

GALLIENUS REDIVIVUS;

OR,

Murder Will Out;

BEING A

TRUE ACCOUNT

OF

THE DE-WITTING*

OF

GLENCO.

"They gave out, that the design of their coming was to introduce *Liberty*, and depose *Tyrants*; but having gained the power, they did so *tyrannize* themselves, that the reign of former oppressors seemed a golden age, if compared with the arbitrariness and exaction of these pretended DELIVERERS; which made the Sicilians think them more happy who expired in servitude, than those who lived to see such a DISMAL FREEDOM."

PLUTARCH, LIFE OF TIMOLEON.

---

* *Alluding* to the murder of Cornelius and John de Witt, by the *Orange faction* at the Hague, on the 20th of August 1672.

LETTER

FROM

A Gentleman in Scotland to his Friend in London, who desired a particular Account of the Business of Glenco.

Edinburgh, April 20th 1692.

SIR,

THE account you desired of that strange and surprising massacre of Glenco, take as follows:

Mackian Macdonald, laird of Glenco, a branch of the Macdonalds, one of the greatest clans, or tribes, in the north of Scotland, came with the most considerable men of his clan, to Colonel Hill, governor of Fort-William at Inverlochy, some few days before the expiring of the time for receiving the indemnity appointed by proclamation, which, as I take it, was the 1st of January last, intreating he would administer unto him the oaths which the aforesaid proclamation required to be taken; that, so submitting himself to the government, he might have its protection. The Colonel received him *with all* expressions of kindness; nevertheless shifted *the administering* the oaths to him; alleging, *that by the proclamation* it did not belong to him,

but to the sheriffs, bailiffs of regalities, and magistrates of burghs, to administer them. Mackian complaining that by this disappointment he might be wronged, the time being now near the expiring, and the weather so extreme, and the ways so very bad, that it was not possible for him so soon to reach any sheriff, &c. got from Colonel Hill, under his hand, his protection; and withal he was assured, that no orders from the government against him should be put in execution, until he first was advertised, and had time allowed him to apply himself to king or council for his own safety. But the better to make all sure, (though this might have seemed security enough for that time), with all dispatch imaginable he posted to Inveraray, the chief town of Argyllshire, where he found Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas, sheriff of that shire, and craved of him the benefit of the indemnity, according to the proclamation, he being willing to perform all the conditions required. Sir Colin at first scrupled to admit him to the oaths, the time which the proclamation did appoint being elapsed by one day, alledging it would be of no use to him then to take them: but Mackian represented that it was not his fault, he having come in time enough to Colonel Hill, not doubting but he could have administered the oaths to him, and that upon his refusal he had made such haste to Inverary, that he might have come in time enough, had not the extremity of the weather hindred him; and, even as it was, he was but one day after the time appointed; and that it would be very unbe

coming of the government to take advantage of a man's coming late by one day, especially when he had done his utmost to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatening to protest against the sheriff for the severity of this usage, he administered to him and his attendants the oaths, Mackian depending upon the indemnity granted to those who should take them: and, having done so, he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the government till the day of his death.

In January last, a party of the Earl of Argyll's regiment came to that country; the design of their coming was then suspected to be, to take course with those who should stand out, and not submit, and take the oaths. The garrison of Inverlochy being thronged, and Glenco being commodious for quartering, as being near that garrison, those soldiers were sent thither to quarter; they pretended they came to exact arrears of cess and hearth-money, (a tax never known in Scotland, until laid on by the Parliament 1690, after the Parliament of England had eased themselves of it). Ere they entered Glenco, that laird, or his sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as friends, or as enemies? The officers answered, as friends; and gave their parole of honour, that they would do neither him nor his concerns any harm; upon which he welcomed them, promising them the best entertainment the place could afford. This he really performed, as all the soldiers confess. *He and they lived* together in mutual kind-

ness and friendship 15 days, or thereabouts; so far was he from fearing any hurt from them. And the very last day of his life he spent in keeping company with the commander of that party, Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, playing at cards with him till six or seven at night, and at their parting mutual protestations of kindness were renewed. Some time that very day, but whether before or after their parting, I know not, Captain Campbell had these orders sent him from Major Duncanson, a copy whereof I here send you.

Ballacholis, February 12th 1692.

SIR,

You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the Macdonalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have especial care, that the old fox and his sons do upon no account escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party. If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the king's SPECIAL COMMAND, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without feud or favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the king or government, nor a man fit to carry a commission in the king's ser-

vice. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with y hand,

ROBERT DUNCANSON.

For their Majesties service.

To Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon.

Duncanson had received orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, which were as follows:

Ballacholis, February 12th 1692.

SIR,

Per second to the commander-in-chief, and my Colonel's orders to me, for putting in execution the service commanded against the rebels in Glenco, wherein you, with the party of the Earl of Argyll's regiment under your command, are to be concerned; you are therefore forthwith to order your affairs so, as that the several posts already assigned by you, be by you and your several detachments fallen in action with, precisely by five o'clock to-morrow morning, being Saturday, at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this regiment for the other places. It will be most necessary you secure those avenues on the south side, that the old fox nor none of his cubs get away. The orders are, that none be spared from seventy, of the sword, nor the government troubled with prisoners. This is all until I see you, from

Your humble servant,

JAMES HAMILTON.

Please to order a guard to secure the ferry and the boats there, and the boats must be all on this side the ferry, after your men are over.

For their Majesties service.

For Major Robert Duncanson of the Earl of Argyll's regiment.

The soldiers being disposed five or three in a house, according to the number of the family they were to assassinate, had their orders given them secretly. They had been all received as friends by those poor people, who, intending no evil themselves, little suspected that their guests were designed to be their murderers. At five o'clock in the morning they began their bloody work, surprised and butchered 38 persons who had kindly received them under their roofs. Mackian himself was murdered, and is much bemoaned; he was a stately well-favoured man, and of good courage and sense: as also the Laird of Archintrikin, a gentleman of more than ordinary judgement and understanding, who had submitted to the government, and had Colonel Hill's protection in his pocket, which he had got three months before. I cannot without horror represent how that a boy about eight years of age was murdered; he seeing what was done to others in the house with him, in a terrible fright run out of the house, and espying Captain Campbell, grasped him about the legs, crying for mercy, and offering to be his servant all his life. I am informed Captain Campbell inclin-

ed to spare him, but one Drummond, an officer, barbarously run his dagger through him, whereof he died immediately. The rehearsal of several particulars and circumstances of this tragical story, makes it appear most doleful; as that Mackian was killed as he was drawing on his breeches, standing before his bed, and giving orders to his servants for the good entertainment of those who murdered him; while he was speaking the words, he was shot through the head, and fell dead in his lady's arms, who, through the grief of this, and other bad usages she met with, died the next day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor people were killed when they were asleep; and none were allowed to pray to God for mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that night was most boisterous; so as a party of 400 men, who should have come to the other end of the Glen, and begun the like work there at the same hour, (intending that the poor inhabitants should be inclosed, and none of them escape), could not march at length, until it was nine o'clock, and this afforded to many an opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose houses Campbell and Glenlyon's men were quartered; otherwise all the males under seventy years of age, to the number of 200, had been cut off, for that was the order; and it might have been easily executed, especially considering that the inhabitants had no arms at that time; for upon the first hearing that the soldiers were coming to the Glen, they had conveyed them all out of the way; for though

they relied on the promises which were made them for their safety, yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarmed. I know not whether to impute it to the difficulty in distinguishing the difference of a few years, or to the fury of the soldiers, who being once glutted with blood, stand at nothing, that even some above seventy years of age were destroyed. They set all the houses on fire, drove off all the cattle to the garrison of Inverlochy, viz. 900 cows, 200 horses, and a great many sheep and goats, and there they were divided amongst the officers. And how dismal may you imagine the case of the poor women and children was then! It was lamentable past expression; their husbands and fathers, and near relations, were forced to flee for their lives; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, and their houses being burnt, and not one house nearer than six miles; and to get thither they were to pass over mountains and wreaths of snow, in a vehement storm, wherein the greatest part of them perished through hunger and cold. It fills me with horror to think of poor stript children and women, some with child, and some giving suck, wrestling against a storm, in mountains and heaps of snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down, and die miserably.

You see, in Hamilton's order to Duncanson, there is a special caution that the old fox nor none of his cubs should escape; and in Duncanson's order to Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, that the old

fox nor none of his sons escape; but notwithstanding all this wicked caution, it pleased God that the two young gentlemen, Mackian's sons, escaped. For it happened, that the younger of these gentlemen trusted little to the fair promises of Campbell, and had a more watchful eye over him than his father or brother, who suffered themselves by his reiterated oaths to be deluded into a belief of his integrity: he having a strong impression on his spirit, that some mischievous design was hidden under Campbell's specious pretences, it made him, after the rest were in bed, remain in a retired corner, where he had an advantageous prospect into their guard. About midnight, perceiving several soldiers to enter it, this increased his jealousy; so he went and communicated his fears to his brother, who could not for a long time be persuaded there was any bad design against them, and asserted, that what he had seen was not a doubling their guards in order to any ill design, but that being in a strange place, and at a distance from the garrison, they were to send out centinels far from the guard, and because of the extremity of the weather, relieved them often, and that the men he saw could be no more than these. Yet he persisting to say, that they were not so secure but that it was fit to acquaint their father with what he had seen; he prevailed with his brother to rise and go with him to his father, who lay in a room contiguous to that they were in. Though what the *younger son alleged* made no great impression on

his father, yet he allowed his sons to try what they could discover. They well knowing all skulking places there, went and hid themselves near to a centinel's post, where, instead of one, they discovered eight or ten men; this made them more inquisitive, so they crept as near as they could without being discovered, so near that they could hear one say to his fellows, That he liked not this work, and that, had he known of it, he would have been very unwilling to have come there; but that none, except their commanders, knew of it till within a quarter of an hour. The soldier added, That he was willing to fight against the men of the Glen, but it was base to murder them. But to all this was answered, All the blame be on such as gave the orders, we are free, being bound to obey our officers. Upon hearing of these words, the young gentlemen retired as quickly and as quietly as they could towards the house, to inform their father of what they had heard; but as they came nigh to it, they perceived it surrounded, and heard guns discharged, and the people shrieking; whereupon, being unarmed, and totally unable to rescue their father, they preserved their own lives in hopes yet to serve their king and country, and see justice done upon those hell-hounds, treacherous murderers, the shame of their country, and disgrace of mankind.

I must not forget to tell you, that there were two of these officers who had given their parole of *honour to Mackian*, who refused to be concerned

in that brutal tragedy, for which they were sent prisoners to Glasgow, where, if they remain not still, I am sure they were some weeks ago.

Thus, Sir, in obedience to your commands, I have sent you such account as I could get of that monstrous and most inhuman massacre of the Laird of Glenco, and others of his clan. You desire some proofs of the truth of this story, for you say there are many in England who cannot believe such a thing could be done, and public justice not executed upon the ruffians; for they take it for granted, that no such order could be given by the government; and you say they will never believe it without a downright demonstration. Sir, as to the government, I will not meddle with it; or whether these officers who murdered Glenco had such orders as they pretended from the government, the government knows that best, and how to vindicate their own honour, and punish the murderers who pretended their authority, and still stand upon it. But as to the matter of fact of the murder of Glenco, you may depend upon it as certain and undeniable. It would be thought as strange a thing in Scotland for any man to doubt of it, as of the death of my Lord Dundee, or with you, that the Duke of Monmouth lost his head. But to put you out of all doubt, you will ere long have my Lord Argyll's regiment with you in London, and there you may speak with Glenlyon himself, with Drummond, and the rest of the actors in that dismal tragedy; and on my life, there is never

a one of them will deny it to you, for they know it is notoriously known all over Scotland, and it is an admiration to us, that there should be any one in England who makes the least doubt of it. Nay, Glenlyon is so far from denying it, that he brags of it, and justifies the action publicly. He said in the royal coffee-houses in Edinburgh, that he would do it again; nay, that he would stab any man in Scotland or England, without asking the cause, if the king gave him orders, and that it was every good subject's duty so to do; and I am credibly informed, that Glenlyon and the rest of them have addressed themselves to the council for a reward for their good service in destroying Glenco, pursuant to their orders.

There is enough of this mournful subject; if what I have said satisfy you not, you may have what farther proof, and in what manner you please to ask it.

SIR,

Your humble servant, &c.

N. B. That the gentleman to whom this letter was sent, did, on Thursday June 30th 1692, when the Lord Argyll's regiment was quartered at Brentford, go thither, and had this story of the Massacre of Glenco from the very men who were the actors in it; Glenlyon and Drummond were *both there.* The Highlanders who told him the

story, expressing guilt, which was visible in Glenlyon, said, Glenco hangs about Glenlyon night and day, and you may see him in his face. I am told likewise, that Sir John Lauder refused to accept the place of Lord Advocate of Scotland, unless he might have liberty to prosecute Glenlyon and the rest of the murderers of Glenco, which not being granted, James Stuart, (who was forfeited for treason by King Charles II. and since knighted by King William), has now the place.

GALLIENUS REDIVIVUS;

OR,

MURDER WILL OUT.

THE foregoing account of the barbarous massacre of Glenco was printed in the year 1692, in the answer to Dr King's book of the state of the Protestants in Ireland; and all the reception it met with among many here in England was, that it was a Jacobite story, on purpose to reflect upon the government, and that there was no such thing. But this is now confuted by the proceedings of the Parliament in Scotland this summer session, 1695, wherein they have voted the killing of the Glenco men to be a murder, and yet have acquitted Sir Thomas Livingston and Colonel Hill, who gave the orders for killing of them: Why? because their orders were but pursuant to the instructions they had from Court. Where will this lodge the murder? The design, it is well enough known, is to put it upon Sir John Dalrymple, commonly called Master of Stair, one of the secretaries for Scotland, because he is not so fiery a Presbyterian as the *other Secretary*, James Johnston, who hath it by *inheritance* to love crown and mitre alike, and

have a just reward for it. But Dalrymple is only a libertine, or latitudinarian, one of the modern *no-religion*, who are indifferent to all, so they be troubled with none. Therefore he cares not whether Episcopacy or Presbytery, or what else is set up, provided the people be easy with it.

Now, it being known to all the world, that the pretence of the inclinations of the people of Scotland, which was made the ground-work for abolishing Episcopacy, and setting up Presbytery there, was a mere sham, contrived by this Johnston and the bigot Presbyterian party in Scotland, who were all put in power in the beginning of this revolution, and set on the barbarous rabbling of the Episcopal clergy in the west of Scotland, that they might cry out the inclinations of the people were against Episcopacy: and having by these and other arts (which are fully related in print), packed, and then surprised the first Convention or meeting of Estates, to abolish Episcopacy. They dare not have a new parliament * (as in England), but keep on the same Convention (only changing the name into that of a parliament) to this day; because no free Parliament can be had in Scotland, which would not the first day spue out Presbytery, and re-establish their much more beloved Episcopacy. And the people shewing great uneasiness under their present establishment, (which hath been tricked and forced upon them), all the *craft and violence* of the regnant Presbytery, as-

* *See Querela Temporum*, p. 8. and 9.

sisted by acts of parliament, and all the countenance of the government, having not yet been able to outoust the Episcopal clergy in the north, and other parts of Scotland, or prevail with the people to admit of, or almost give civil treatment to the Presbyterian minister sent to them, though established by law. The Presbyterian interest standing there upon so slender a bottom, their juncto think it not safe to have a man of Dalrymple's latitude in religion in so eminent a post, and near their king, lest he should follow the inclinations of the people in good earnest, and call a new Parliament there, which would ruin all their measures; therefore ways and means must be used to remove him, and leave Johnston and the Presbyterian faction in the sole possession of the Court. At length this of Glenco was pitched upon, which was so odious, they knew their king durst not own it; therefore they would throw it upon Dalrymple, who was secretary, and attended when the instructions were sent for that bloody murder; and thereby too, they would seem to take off the odium from their king. This was their pretence, and they had proof enough against Dalrymple. But how that cleared his Master will be seen.

They produced nine letters of Dalrymple's (of which I have copies), concerning the massacre of Glenco, and I shall have occasion to mention them hereafter; I will now set down their several dates and directions, and quote them, to save repetition, *only by their* number, letter i, ii, iii. &c. The two *first are* directed to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton

and bear date on the 1st, and the other on the 3d December 1691. The four next are to Sir Thomas Livingston, of these several dates, 7th, 9th, 11th, and 16th of January 1692. Then follow two more to Colonel Hill, of the 16th and 30th of the same month. And lastly, one of the 30th ditto, to Sir Thomas Livingston. It seems very strange that King William would suffer these letters to be exposed to the Parliament in Scotland, being most of them wrote by his order, enlarging upon, and enforcing the execution of instructions sent with them for the massacre of Glenco. And the regard which his dear Presbyterians, and his favourite Johnston in particular, had to his honour, was very slender, when, to compass their ends, they load him so foully, that they might load Dalrymple too. Johnston says, *No*, but that he, foreseeing (because some say of his own contriving) that the Parliament, who are most of them his creatures, (to their honour be it spoken), would fall upon the business of Glenco, and that they must be, at least seemingly, gratified in it, otherwise that it might obstruct the money-bills, did therefore advise his Master to send down a commission to men of his own chusing, to enquire into the affair of Glenco; but withal, to give secret instructions to his commissioner, to keep up the said commission, unless the Parliament should enter upon that business; and if they did, then to produce the *said commission*, to shew his Majesty's innocence, *by his care to have* it examined; and withal, it *would take the* examination of it out of the hands

of the Parliament committees, who might not manage so dextrously as those of his own naming.

Things being thus stated, and the necessary orders given, it is vilely suspected, that Johnston procured the matter to be started in Parliament, whereby at once to get rid of his rival secretary, and root up the interest of any who had but an indifferency towards Episcopacy at Court, though to the utter shipwreck of his Master's honour, to be recorded for all posterities, (as if it were inseparable from some constitutions to betray those they serve, even though they wish them well, and must stand and fall with them). For, considering the influence Johnston had in that Parliament, and that they never yet opposed his will in any thing; and that he has been able to suppress the least murmur or hint that looked towards Glenco, when the fact was new committed, and the horror of it fresh and bleeding, and now for three years after; I say, it is not supposed by men who understand that Parliament, that it could have been brought upon the stage, when it was almost dead and forgotten, if the hand of Joab had not been in it; but let him look to that. I have only to add, as a completion of the foregoing narrative, that I can, from unquestionable vouchers, give the reader an account of the orders from Court to Sir Thomas Livingston and Colonel Hill, which are not in the letter that goes before; and, when the reader is told that Hamilton (whose order to Duncanson *is inserted*) had his order from Livingston and *Hill, then* he has the whole thread, viz. W. R.

order to Livingston and Hill; Livingston and Hill to Hamilton; Hamilton to Duncanson; and Duncanson to Glenlyon, who was the butcher.

You find in the gazettes two sets of instructions, one of the 11th, the other of the 16th of January 1691-2, and I will give you an account of them both. Those of the 11th did expressly order FIRE and SWORD, (these were the words), against all the Highland clans who had not taken the oaths. After they were sent away, my Lord Carmarthen (now Leeds), being told of it by Dalrymple, (as I am informed), did represent it to King William as a thing so unknown in these countries which are governed by laws, that fire and sword would sound very harshly, no such words having ever been heard from any of our native kings. This procured the mitigation of that order by the instructions of the 16th, which poured all the thunder upon Glenco, because some sacrifice must be made. What concerned Glenco, was in the 4th of these instructions, and is as follows:

WILLIAM R.

As for Mackian of Glenco, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice, to EXTIRPATE that set of thieves.

W. R.

This was directed to Sir Thomas Livingston and *Colonel Hill, and the* Parliament has voted, that

Livingston or Hill's orders did not exceed these instructions; nor indeed could they, for what can exceed EXTIRPATION? and that to be executed at the discretion of soldiers. As it is worded in the secretary's letter to Sir Thomas Livingston: * "I am confident, (says he), you will see there are full powers given you in very plain terms, and yet the method left very much to your own discretion."

Take notice, that the instructions are counter-signed W. R. at bottom as well as top, which is not usual, for it is the secretary's office to counter-sign the king's orders; and the reason is, that if any thing be amiss, the secretary must be answerable; therefore Dalrymple had reason to wave that ceremony, in this instance, and let his Master take all the glory to himself. And lest this should not be sufficiently taken notice of, and that he might have a voucher, when time comes, he took care to inform Sir Thomas Livingston punctually of it, in the same letter which inclosed the first most bloody instructions, of the 11th January 1691-2, for an universal massacre of all who had not taken the oaths, and begins in these words: † "Sir, I send you the king's instructions super and sub-scribed by himself." And to shew how pleasing a thing mercy was to them, and with what reluctancy they prosecuted those who had not taken the oaths, he says in the same letter, "Just now Argyll tells me, that Glenco hath not taken the

* Letter v. † Letter v.

oaths, at which I rejoice; it is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable set." And to shew how great this charity was, and whence it proceeded, the wise secretary blurs out these words: "I have no great kindness for Kippoch nor Glenco, and it is well these people are in mercy." Well indeed, they were in *merciful* hands! Who can say they ought not to die for whom such a secretary hath no *great kindness?* But who are they must die? ALL, ALL, man, woman, and child; massacre the men, and drive the women and children to perish more cruelly in the mountains. To which purpose that extreme cold season was chosen for the execution. * "The winter is the only season," (says the secretary), "in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their wives, bairns, and cattle, to the mountains." † "It is the only time they cannot escape you, for human constitution cannot endure to be long out of houses. This is the proper season to maul them in the cold long nights." This was expressed with the gusto of a vulture, in expectation of a glorious massacre, and then how *easy* it would be. ‡ "I expect," (say she), "you will find little resistance, but from the season." And then what thorough work they would make, || to destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Kippoch's, Glengary's, Appin, and Glenco. Here was a plentiful feast provided. *It was a* ravishing prospect.

---

* *Letter i.* † *Letter ii.* ‡ Letter iv. || Letter iii.

But O how these lions were enraged when any of their desired prey was delivered out of their jaws. It was in a mournful strain the secretary tells the sad news. * "We have an account," says he, "that Lockhart and Macnaughton, Appin and Glenco, took the benefit of the indemnity at Inverary, and Kippoch and others at Inverness." But after this, when Argyll told him that Glenco had not taken the oaths, how did he rejoice, as above quoted. † "I am glad," says he, "that Glenco did not come within the time prescribed." ‡ "I am content that clan except itself." ‖ "For my part, I could have wished the Macdonalds had not divided, (that is, that they had all excluded themselves from mercy); and I am sorry that Kippoch and Mackian of Glenco are safe." But it seems they were not safe. Some must be made a sacrifice, and Glenco was pitched upon for the victim. And the implacable fury which was shewn against that clan, expressed the rage they felt, that so many had escaped them. And therefore that clan was to be destroyed entirely. § "I assure you, says the secretary to his officers, your power shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners." ¶ "For a just example of vengeance, I intreat, that the thieving tribe in Glenco may be rooted out in earnest. I shall intreat you, that for a just vengeance and public example, the thieving tribe of Glenco

---

* *Letter iv.* † Letter ix. ‡ Letter i. ‖ Letter iv. § *Letter iii.* ¶ Letter vi. viii.

may be rooted out to purpose. The Earl of Argyll has promised they shall have no retreat in his bounds; the passes to Rannach would be secured, and the hazard certified to the Laird of ——— to retreat: then in that case, Argyll's detachment, with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker, must cut them off." * "Pray, when any thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you, and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who are fallen in the mercy of the law." † "I am glad Glenco did not come in within the time prescribed. I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together to help. I think to herry their cattle, or burn their houses, is but to render them desperate lawless men to rob their neighbours. But I believe you will be satisfied it were great advantage to the nation, that that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off. It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both the men and their cattle. Argyll's detachment lies in Kippoch well to assist the garrison to do all *on a sudden.*" Was ever so greedy a hunt after the lives of a company of secure and unarmed people, who slept fearless, and suspecting no danger under the protection of those who were thus contriving to massacre them, in the most savage and treacherous manner!

---

* *Letter viii.* † *Letter ix.*

The secretary tells Colonel Hill, that * "the oaths are indispensible." This was a fearful method of imposing the oaths upon these Highlanders, that none must live who would not take them. But were all admitted to take them? One would think so, when they were made indispensible. Yet notwithstanding, in that same letter, he gave these directions to Colonel Hill: "Till we see what is done by the chiefs, it is not time to receive their tenants, or admitting them to take the oaths, or hoping for pardon, till they give evidence that they are willing to pay their rents to you, and to take tacks for their former duties; who will not do so, and were in the rebellion, must feel the dismal consequences of it."

Thus Naboth's vineyard made him a blasphemer! If the tenants would betray the rights of their landlords to attorn and pay the rents to the secretary, or his governor, then, and not otherwise, they should be admitted to take the oaths; and yet they must not live, if they did not take the oaths: But Glenco took the oaths, yet that saved not his life, nor his clan.

It were reasonable here to presume, that King William did not know that they had taken the oaths. *First*, If it had been so, this manner of massacre, in cold blood, had been a cruelty without a precedent. *Secondly*, it was taking advantage of the time with the greatest rigour. For the time limited by the indemnity expired but the 1st

* Letter viii.

of January 1691-2, and the instructions for a general massacre were dated the 11th of the same month, at London, which was hardly time enough to know whether they had taken the oaths or not. But, *Thirdly*, here is no room left to surmise that King William did not know it, because secretary Dalrymple, in his letter to Sir Thomas Livingston, before quoted, which is dated at London the 9th of January 1691-2, tells him, * "That they had an account that Glenco had taken the oaths at Inverary;" which was the place where he did take them, as is told in the foregoing narrative. And he tells Sir Thomas in the same letter, "I have been with the king, he says your instructions shall be dispatched on Monday;" and they were so, for that Monday was the 11th of January 1691-2, which day the instructions do bear date; and this letter of the secretary's was dated the 9th of January 1691-2, which was the Saturday before; and then tells Sir Thomas, that he had the account of Glenco's having taken the oaths, with several others, and that he had been with the king concerning it, and instructions should be sent, &c. It is true, his letter of the 11th, which went with the instructions, says, † "That Argyll told him Glenco had not taken the oaths;" but this was no more than hear-say, and it was not true, for Glenco had taken the oaths before that time, according to the account which the secretary *owned* was sent to him; and Argyll was an ene-

* Letter iv. † Letter v.

my to Glenco, as appears by what is above quoted out of letter vii. But this saying of Argyll to the secretary in London, could not be of Argyll's own knowledge; and one would think, that the Secretary of State should have as good intelligence as he.

But, to make the most of it, this could amount to no more than a doubt; and to suspend his further resolution, till he might have the certainty from Scotland; but they did not stay for this, for the particular instructions to massacre Glenco, bore date the 16th of January 1691-2; betwixt which time and the 11th, when Argyll told the secretary as above, they could not send to Scotland and have an answer back. Now these instructions of the 16th were no way conditional to cut off Glenco if he had not taken the oaths, but positive, and without more ado; when it is certain that King William must at least doubt whether he had taken the oaths or not; but it is apparent, that Colonel Hill, who had given Glenco his protection, and to whom Glenco came to take the oaths, I say it is certain, that he and the other officers there upon the place, knew very well that Glenco had taken the oaths, and submitted to the government. Those officers whom he received into his house, and quartered their soldiers among his tenants, upon his laying down his arms, these must know that he had submitted. But if, notwithstanding, they must obey their orders (as they did), if it be not permitted to officers, so much as *rescribere*, to acquaint the king with any mistake that may be in his orders; but

to execute them blindfold, and without asking questions, then let me lie out of the reach of a soldier.

The reader must likewise know, that none of these foresaid instructions were communicated to the privy-council of Scotland; to whom, by the constitution of that kingdom, and continual custom, all the king's orders are directed. They knew nothing of this matter; it was contrived to be carried in such a manner, as not to be prevented. And when Gallienus his thirst of blood is once satisfied, then let slaves grumble and make enquiry, we know how to manage them! *Johnston* hath undertaken it; nay, he hath done it: *done it!* more effectually than ever was heard, or I believe imagined, in these nations, before this happy revolution: for here is a precedent made, and that by Parliament, that the king may send his guards, and cut any man's throat in the nation in cold blood; nay, he may massacre the whole Parliament as they are there sitting, by the rule that they have given, that is, to acquit Livingston and Hill, and to justify them for pursuing the king's orders to massacre a whole clan, which is no more just, or law, than to massacre a Parliament.

Let us banter the world, or ourselves, no more with liberty and laws! when Parliaments can be brought to approve and justify all this. Well, *Johnston!* thou hast managed nobly; thou art fit *to serve a monarch!* but not unless you bring *your monarch* cleverly off in this business; for *what if you can place* it upon Dalrymple; and if

Dalrymple should be hanged for daring to send such an order, though he refused to countersign it, what will become of him who both signed it and countersigned it, and commanded it to be sent.

> If the man such praises have,
> What must he employs the knave?

Why did his master never enquire into the matter before? never before the Parliament clamoured! And what was the meaning of a commission to examine into what himself had ordered. But Mes James!—And have you e'en brought your master into this noose! What can you expect from him, but to be *Glenco'd* for your pains? *Qui Glencoat Glencoabitur.*—You have brought all his sins to remembrance. The *De-witting* in Holland was almost forgot.—You have pretty good experience of his temper, or you may have. But if he suffer your to live to see another revolution, you may plead merit: for all his enemies have not rendered him so black, so effectually proved and demonstrated it to the world, as your management has done. He is happy to his ministers! at least very justly served by them!

He wants but a good historian, that he may not lose his character to after ages. And, secretary, you cannot do better than to recommend your uncle to that office. He'll do it deliciously; he'll either find or make parallels to him out of ancient histories, (for he'll find none among the modern, *especially in* these countries), and make him (I'll *warrant you*), excel them all. And, among t

rest, I would recommend one to him, that fits the present case so exactly, that you would think one was copied out from the other, and it is as follows:

Gallienus, ut erat nequam et perditus, ita etiam, ubi necessitas coegisset, velox, furibundus, ferus, vehemens, crudelis:——In omnes Mœsiacos tam milites quam cives asperrime sæviit: nec quenquam suæ crudelitatis exortem reliquit: usque adeo asper et truculentus ut plerasque civitates vacuas a virili sexu relinqueret. Extat sane epistola Gallieni, quam ad Celerem Verianum scripsit, qua ejus nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur: quam ego idcirco interposui, ut omnes intelligerent, hominem luxuriosum crudelissimum esse, si necessitas postulet. GALLIENUS VERIANO: "Non mihi satisfacies, si tantum armatos occideris, quos et fors belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si et senes atque impuberes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possent. Occidendus est quicunque male voluit. Occidendus est quicunque male dixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot principum patrem et fratrem. Ingenuus factus est imperator. Lacera, occide, concide: animum meum intelligere potes, mea mente irascere qui hæc manu mea scripsi *.

Trebell. Pollion. Trigint. Tyran. de Ingenuo.

---

* Gallienus, as he was profligate and abandoned, so also, when urged by necessity, he was hasty, furious, savage, violent, and bloody. He raged most cruelly against all belonging to Mœsia, *soldiers as well as citizens*: nor did he let any one escape without *suffering a share in his* cruelty: fierce and bloody to that degree, *that he left most of the cities* deprived of the male sex. There is

This is the description of Gallienus, a cruel and a bloody tyrant: and here is the copy of some instructions he sent to Verianus, an officer of his, about just such another massacre as Glenco, which he wrote, or signed with his own hand; wherein he commands him to put all to the sword, all that durst speak or think against him, as well old as young; he bid him plunder, kill, tear, and that it would not please him if he killed only those in arms against him, but all of the masculine sex.

Here was a great deal of do, and many words about it; but our milder order bids only EXTIRPATE, and that not this or that body, or making distinctions of old or young, men or women.—What need all that cookery! but only *the whole tribe: That was all!* He scorned to except the pitiful women, as Gallienus did. What need they be excepted? Why! he excepted nobody! Short work's best—and few words—and as the

---

extant a letter of Gallienus, which he wrote to Celer Verianus, in which his excess of cruelty is shewn; which I have inserted for that end, that all might understand, that a man addicted to pleasure, if necessity require it, is most cruel. GALLIENUS TO VERIANUS: "You will not satisfy me, if you slaughter those only who are in arms, whom even the fortune of war might cut off. All the male sex is to be slaughtered, if even old men, and youths under age, might be murdered without my finding any fault. He is to be murdered whosoever hath been disaffected: he is to be murdered whosoever hath spoken reproachfully against me, against the son of Valerian, against the father and brother of so many princes. Ingenuus has been made emperor. Mangle, murder, and massacre: you can understand the emotions of my soul, that my mind, who write these things with my own hand, is filled with rage.——TREBELLIUS POLLIO *on the thirty Tyrants*, concerning Ingenuus.

answer to Great Britain's just complaint, published by authority, 1692, says, p. 87, in vindication of W. R. as to this of Glenco, a milder order was never given. And he says, that his Majesty has expressed a high displeasure at it. It was high indeed, for we never heard of it before. Nor are we like to hear of it, that I can see; for all the officers who commanded, or who executed it, are still in their respective posts, unless advanced. Nor have we heard that so much as an ill word has been said by him to any one of them.

But this we know, by that answer to Great Britain's just complaint, that W. R. cannot plead ignorance, that there was a great clamour about the massacre of Glenco about three years ago; and that he has taken no notice of it all this time, nor now, till it was first started in Parliament; and that then, what he did was as much as he could to take it out of the hands of the Parliament, and by all his might and main to stifle, or at least to baffle it. And that it has been baffled. And this horrible addition is thereby made to the guilt of that murder, that whereas none were answerable for it before, except only Gallienus and his Verianuses, with their accomplices, it is now become a national guilt, (so far as the Parliament are the representatives of the people), by the Parliament's making Gallienus's instructions sufficient to justify Verianus in his execution of them, whereby they justify the whole murder, and bring it *upon their own heads*, and upon the heads of their *children*. *For if* Gallienus had no power by law

to send such instructions, they could be no justification to Verianus: but now that the Parliament has voted that such instructions are a justification of Verianus, and therefore they have yielded that Gallienus has, by law, a power to send such instructions, and that they ought to be obeyed; and then, Lord have mercy upon us!

But, to bring our story to an end, there is one noble stroke of Secretary Johnston's behind, whereby he thinks he has wiped his Master clean, from all imputation of the massacre of Glenco; and that is, he has persuaded Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton (whose order to Duncanson is in the aforesaid narrative), to abscond for some time, and then to slip over to King William in Flanders; which he has done. This shews as if he was more guilty than the rest. He is made the scapegoat, and all this sin laid upon his head. But if Hill gave his orders to his Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton (which he avers in his order to Duncanson), why was it more criminal in Hamilton to hand down his Colonel's orders to the next subaltern?

And why must Glenlyon, and the others who actually committed that horrid massacre, and are now in their respective commands in Flanders, why should these be excused?

O no! they are not excused, for as in the gazette, 18th July 1695, the Parliament in Scotland has made a fierce vote against them, viz. That his Majesty be addressed to send them home to be *prosecuted* for the same or not, as his Majesty *shall think* fit.—OR NOT! This is as civil as hea

could wish! And whether this address was sent *or not*; whether it was trusted to Secretary Johnston to send it *or not*, is all one; for instead of sending them home to be tried, Hamilton is sent to them: And, in justice, we are to suppose, that due care will be taken, that, in this campaign, they shall either be killed, taken, or desert. And then, if we had them again, how we would hang the rogues!

THE END.

THE

Massacre of Glenco,

BEING

A TRUE NARRATIVE

OF

THE BARBAROUS MURTHER OF THE GLENCO-MEN, IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND, BY WAY OF MILITARY EXECUTION, ON THE 13TH OF FEB. 1692.

CONTAINING

THE COMMISSION UNDER THE GREAT SEAL OF SCOTLAND FOR MAKING AN ENQUIRY INTO THAT HORRID MURTHER: THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND UPON IT: THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS UPON THE ENQUIRY, LAID BEFORE THE KING AND PARLIAMENT: AND THE ADDRESS OF THE PARLIAMENT TO KING WILLIAM FOR JUSTICE UPON THE MURDERERS.

Faithfully Extracted from the Records of Parliament, and Published for undeceiving those who have been imposed upon by false Accounts.

LONDON: PRINTED AND SOLD BY B. BRAGG, AT THE BLUE-BALL IN AVE-MARY-LANE.—1704.

Edinburgh:

REPRINTED FOR D. WEBSTER, 32, WEST COLLEGE STREET.

1818.

LETTER

FROM

A PERSON OF QUALITY IN SCOTLAND, TO HIS FRIEND IN LONDON.

SIR,

IN answer to your's of the first of October, I herewith send you, from the records of our Parliament, a true and authentick account of the Massacre of Glenco, as you righteously call it. I wish this matter could have been forgotten to eternity; but since you say it is altogether needful for the vindication of the justice of our country, against many false slanderous accounts that are daily given of that business in England, I am willing you print what I now send you; and that you may be furnished to answer all objections against the truth of this narrative, you may inform any Englishman of quality that is willing to be satisfied in the matter, that the report of the commission, the address of our Parliament herewith sent you, and the duplicates of the Lord Stair's letters, are, or were at least, in the Scots Secretaries office at London; or, if they should happen to be withdrawn from thence, they may inform themselves fully in the truth of this from Mr Johnston, who was at that time Secretary of State for Scotland, and had particular *directions* from the late Queen Mary to push on *this enquiry*, and search into the bottom of that

horrid murder; for her Majesty was grieved at the heart, that the reputation of the king, her husband, should have suffered so much by that affair. I would not, however, that Mr Johnston should know any thing of your design to publish this; for tho' you know as well as I, that his diligence to serve and obey the Queen in this matter, was always judged here to be one of the chief causes of our nation losing that able and honest minister; yet he is so nice in point of honour, that he chused rather to be unjust to himself, and to lie under imputations, than to give any part of those papers to be published, though frequently urged to it, because he said it would be undecent in him, that had once been his Majesty's Secretary, to do any such thing. Therefore, though you are carefully to conceal this matter from him till it be published, yet as soon as it is, I must pray you, if you think it proper, to go and tell him, that I beg his pardon for making this appeal to him without his leave; and though I may suffer in his good opinion by what I have done, yet if this publication may any ways oblige him to do himself, his late Master, and his country, further justice, by telling what he knows more of the matter, I shall be the easier under his displeasure. I had almost forgot to notice, that the Duke of Athol, the Lord Chancellor, and Marquis of Annandale, all now at London, were members of the commission, who made the inclosed report; and howsoever scrupulous they may have been in point of honour to communicate any papers relating to this matter, they cannot in

honour but own, that this history is authentick, if any of the English nobility think fit to enquire at them about it; but you must be careful to let none of them know any thing of your design to publish it, or which way you have this information; tho' if they should come to know it, I chuse rather to incur their displeasure, by appealing to them, than to omit any thing that lies in my power to vindicate the honour and justice of our country.

EDINBURGH,
Nov. 1. 1703.

COMMISSION

FOR

TRIAL OF THE SLAUGHTER COMMITTED AT GLENCO, UPON THE 13th DAY OF FEBRUARY 1692.

GULIELMUS, Dei Gr. Mag. Brit. &c.—Omnibus probis hominibus, ad quos præsentes Literæ nostræ pervenerint, salutem. Quandoquidem nos considerantes, quod etiamsi nos, Anno Dom. 1693, per expressam instructionem, potestatem concessimus demortuo Gulielmo Duci de Hamilton, aliisque, pro examinando et inquirendo de cæde quorundam Cognominis de Macdonald aliorumque de Glenco, An. Dom. 1692, et de modo et de metho do Commissionis ejusdem, Nihilominus Inquisitio quæ tunc facta erat in prosecutione dictæ Instructionis defectiva erat, nosque etiam perpendentes, quod Methodus Maxime efficax pro plena informatione accipienda de veris Circumstantiis Rei antedictæ, erit Commissio in hunc effectum, cumque Nobis abunde satisfactum sit, de facultatibus et aptitudine personarum infra nominatarum in fines supra expressos; Sciatis igitur nos Nominasse et constituisse tenoreque presentium nominare et constituere *fidelissimos* et dilectissimos Nostros Consan-

guineos et Consiliarios, Joannem Marchionem de Tweddale, supremum Nostrum Cancellarium, et Guliel. Comit. d'Annandale, et fideles et dilectos Nostros Consiliarios Joannem Dominum Murray, Dom. Jacobum Stuart, Advocatum Nostrum, Adamum Cockburn de Ormiston, nostrum Justitiarium Clericum, Magistrum Archib. Hope de Rankeiller et Dom. Guliel. Hamilton de Whitelaw, Senatores Nostri Collegii Justitiæ, Dom. Jacob. Ogilvy, Sollicitatorem Nostrum, et Adamum Drummond de Meggins (quorum quinque Numerus erit legitimus, ac cum potestate iis Clericum suum eligendi), Commissionarios Nostros pro capienda precognitione et inquisitionem faciendo de cæde prædicta, per quos et quomodo, et per quam coloratam authoritatem commissa erat, atque in ordine ad detectionem ejusdem, cum potestate dictis commissionariis, requirendi omnia warranta seu directiones quæ eatenus concessa fuere, atque etiam examinandi omnes personas, quæ in re antedicta negotium habuere, atque etiam testes prout necessarium invenietur, sive per eorum juramenta, sive declarationes, et tunc postea dicti commissionarii nobis transmittent verum statum rei antedictæ, una cum probationibus et testimoniis coram ipsis adducendis, uti post debitam et plenam informationem, necessarias directiones, eatenus concedamus prout nobis congruum videbitur. In cujus Rei Testimonium, presentibus, Magnum sigillum Nostrum appendi Mandavimus apud Aulam Nostram de Kensington, Vigesimo Nono die Mensis Aprilis,

Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Nonagesimo Quinto, Annoque Regni Nostri Septimo.

Per Signaturam Manu, S. D. N. Regis Suprascriptam.

Written to the Great Seal, and Reg. May 20. 1695.

DON. RANNALD, *Deput.*

Sealed at Edinburgh, May 20. 1695.

JO. DICKSONE.

IN ENGLISH THUS:

WILLIAM, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c.—To all good men to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas we have taken into consideration, that though in the year of our Lord 1693, we gave power, by express instructions, to William Duke of Hamilton, deceased, and others, to examine and enquire into the slaughter of certain people of the name of Macdonald, and others, in Glenco, in the year 1692, and into the way and manner how the same was committed; yet, nevertheless, the enquiry then made, pursuant to the said instructions, was defective; and considering likewise, that the most effectual method *for receiving full* information of the true circumstances *of the matter* aforesaid, must be by a com-

mission to that effect; and being very well satisfied of the abilities and fitness of the persons under named, for the ends above expressed; know ye therefore, that we have named and constituted, and by the tenor of these presents, do name and constitute, our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councellor, John Marquis of Tweddale, our high chancellor, and William Earl of Anandale, and our trusty and beloved councellors John Lord Murray, Sir James Stuart, our advocate, Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, our Justice-Clerk, Mr Archibald Hope of Rankeiller, and Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw, Senators of our College of Justice, Sir James Ogilvy, our solicitor, and Adam Drummond of Meggins, (of whom five shall be a quorum, and granting them power to chuse their own clerk), our commissioners, to take precognition and make inquiry into the slaughter aforesaid, by whom, and how, and by what colour of authority, the same was committed: and in order to the discovery of the same, we give power to the said commissioners to send for all warrants and directions granted for that end; and also to examine all persons that had any hand in the business aforesaid, and likewise to examine witnesses as shall be found necessary, either upon oath or declaration; and afterwards the said commissioners shall transmit to us the true state of the matter aforesaid, together with the proofs and evidence that shall be brought before them, that after due and full information, we may give such directions thereupon, as to us shall seem meet and necessary. In testi-

mony whereof, we have commanded our great seal to be appended to these presents.

Given at our Court of Kensington, the 29th day of April 1695, and of our reign the seventh.

Superscribed by the signature of the hand writing of our most Serene Lord the King.

Written to the Great Seal, and Registered the 20th day of May 1695.

DON. RANNALD, *Deput.*

Sealed at Edinburgh, May 20. 1695.

JO. DICKSONE.

UPON the 23d of May 1695, this commission was read in Parliament, and the House voted, *nemine contradicente*, that his Majesty's high commissioner transmit the humble thanks of the Parliament to his Majesty, for ordering an enquiry into that matter, whereby the honour and justice of the nation might be vindicated.

It being urged that the commission should proceed with diligence, as being a national concern, and that the discovery be made known to the House before its adjournment, his Grace assured them, that he doubted not of his Majesty's giving satisfaction to his Parliament in that point, and *that before they* parted.

The commissioners proceeded according to order, *and made the* following report.

REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSION GIVEN BY HIS MAJESTY FOR ENQUIRING INTO THE SLAUGHTER OF THE MEN OF GLENCO, SUBSCRIBED AT HALYRUD-HOUSE, THE 20th DAY OF JUNE 1693.

JOHN Marquis of Tweddale, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, William Earl of Annandail, John Lord Murray, Sir James Stuart, his Majesty's advocate, Adam Cockburn of Ormistoun, Lord Justice-Clerk, Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeillor, and Sir William Hamilton of Whitelaw, two of the Senators of the College of Justice, Sir James Ogilvy, his Majesty's Solicitor, and Adam Drummond of Megginsh, commissioners appointed by his Majesty, by his commission under the great seal, of the date the 29th of April last, to make enquiry, and to take trial and precognition about the slaughter of several persons of the sirname of Macdonald, and others, in Glenco, in the year 1692, by whom, and in what manner, and by what pretended authority, the same was committed, with power to call for all warrants and directions given in that matter; as also to examine all persons who had a hand therein, with what wit

nesses they should find necessary, either upon oath or declaration, and to report to his Majesty the true state of the said matter, with the evidence and testimonies to be adduced before them, as the said commission more amply bears. Having met and qualified themselves by taking the oath of allegiance and assurance, conform to the act of Parliament, with the oath *de fideli*, as use is in such cases, did, according to the power given to them, chuse Mr Alexander Monro of Beircroft to be their clerk, and he having also qualified himself as above, they proceeded into the said enquiry, to call for all warrants and directions, with all such persons as witnesses, that might give light in the said matter; and having considered the foresaid warrants and directions produced before them, and taken the oaths and depositions of the witnesses undernamed, they, with all submission, lay the report of the whole discovery made by them before his Majesty in the order following. And, *first*, of some things that preceded the said slaughter: *secondly*, of the matter of fact, with the proofs and evidence taken, when and in what manner the same was committed: *thirdly*, of the warrants and directions that either really were, or were pretended, for the committing it: and, *lastly*, the commissioners humble opinion of the true state and account of that whole business.

The things to be remarked preceding the said *slaughter were*, that it's certain that the Lairds of *Glenco and* Auchintriaten, and their followers, *were in the* insurrection and rebellion made by

some of the Highland clans, under the command first of the Viscount Dundee, and then of Major General Buchan, in the years 1689 and 1690. This is acknowledged by all. But when the Earl of Braidalbine called the heads of the clans, and met with them in Auchallader in July 1691, in order to a cessation, the deceased Alexander Macdonald of Glenco was there, with Glengary, Sir John Maclene, and others, and agreed to the cessation, as it is also acknowledged: but the deceased Glenco's two sons, who were at that time with their father in the town of Auchallader, depone, that they heard that the Earl of Braidalbine did at that time quarrel with the deceased Glenco about some cows, that the Earl alleged were stolen from his men by Glenco's men; and that though they were not present to hear the words, yet their father told them of the challenge; and the two sons, with Ronald Macdonald, indweller in Glenco, and Ronald Macdonald in Innerriggin, in Glenco, do all depone, that they heard the deceased Glenco say, that the Earl of Braidalbine, at the meeting of Auchallader, threatened to do him a mischief, and that he feared a mischief from no man so much as from the Earl of Braidalbine, as their depositions at the letter A in the margin bears. And Alexander Macdonald, second son to the deceased Glenco, doth farther depone, that he hath often heard from his father and others, that there had been in former times blood betwixt Braidalbine's family and their clan, as his deposition at the same mark bears. And here the commissioners cannot but take no-

tice of what hath occurred to them in two letters from Secretary Stair to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, one of the first, and another of the third of December 1691, wherein he expresses his resentment 'for the marring of the bargain that should have been betwixt the Earl of Braidalbine and the Highlanders, to a very great hight, charging some for their despite against him, as if it had been the only hindrance of that settlement.' Whence he goes on in his of the third of December to say, 'That since the government cannot oblige them, it is obliged to ruine some of them to weaken and frighten the rest, and that the Macdonalds will fall in this net.' And, in effect, seems even from that time, which was almost a month before the expiring of the king's indemnity, to project with Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, that some of them should be rooted out and destroyed. His Majesty's proclamation of indemnity was published in August 1691, offering a free indemnity and pardon to all the Highlanders who had been in arms, upon their coming in and taking the oath of allegiance, betwixt and the first of January thereafter. And in compliance with the proclamation, the deceased Glenco goes about the end of December 1691, to Colonel Hill, governor of Fort-William at Inverlochie, and desired the Colonel to minister to him the oath of allegiance, that he might have the king's indemnity. But Colonel *Hill, in his* deposition, marked with the letter B. *doth farther depone*, That he hastened him away *all he could*, and gave him a letter to Ardkinlas,

to receive him as a lost sheep; and the Colonel produces Ardkinlas's answer to that letter, dated the 9th of January 1691, bearing, 'That he had endeavoured to receive the great lost sheep Glenco, and, that Glenco had undertaken to bring in all his friends and followers, as the Privy-Council should order: and Ardkinlas farther writes, that he was sending to Edinburgh, that Glenco, though he had mistaken in coming to Colonel Hill to take the oath of allegiance, might yet be welcome, and that thereafter the Colonel should take care that Glenco's friends and followers may not suffer, till the king's and council's pleasure be known, as the said letter marked on the back with the letter B. bears;' and Glenco's two sons above named, do depone in the same manner, That their father went about the end of December to Colonel Hill to take the oath of allegiance, but finding his mistake, and getting the Colonel's letter to Ardkinlas, he hasted to Inverary as soon as he could for the bad way and weather, and did not so much as go to his own house in his way to Inverary, though he past within half a mile of it, as both their depositions at the letter B. bears; and John Macdonald, the eldest son, depones farther, at the same mark, that his father was taken in his way by Captain Drummond at Barkaldin, and detained 24 hours.

Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlas, sheriff-depute of Argyle, depones, That the deceased Glenco came to Inverary about the beginning of January 1692, with a letter from Colonel Hill, to the effect above mentioned, and was three days there befor

Ardkinlas could get thither, because of bad weather; and that Glenco said to him, that he had not come sooner, because he was hindered by the storm. And Ardkinlas farther depones, That when he declined to give the oath of allegiance to Glenco, because the last of December, the time appointed for the taking it, was past, Glenco begged with tears that he might be admitted to take it, and promised to bring in all his people within a short time to do the like; and if any of them refused, they should be imprisoned or sent to Flanders. Upon which Ardkinlas says, he did administer to him the oath of allegiance upon the 6th of January 1692, and sent a certificate thereof to Edinburgh, with Colonel Hill's letter, to Colin Campbell, sheriff-clerk of Argyle, who was then at Edinburgh; and further wrote to the said Colin, that he should write back to him, whether Glenco's taking of the oath was allowed by the council or not, as Ardkinlas's deposition at the letter B. testifies; and the said Colin, sheriff-clerk, depones, that the foresaid letters, and the certificate relating to Glenco, with some other certificates relating to some other persons, all upon one paper, were sent in to him to Edinburgh by Ardkinlas; which paper being produced upon oath by Sir Gilbert Elliot, clerk of the Secret Council, but rolled and scored as to Glenco's part, and his taking the oath of allegiance; yet the commissioners *found that it was* not so delete or dashed, but that *it may be read, that* Glenco did take the oath of *allegiance at* Inverary, the 6th day of January

1692. And the said Colin Campbell depones, That it came to his hand fairly written, and not dashed, and that with this certificate he had the said letter from Ardkinlas, (with Colonel Hill's above mentioned letter to Ardkinlas inclosed), bearing how earnest Glenco was to take the oath of allegiance, and that he had taken it upon the 6th of January, but that Ardkinlas was doubtful if that the council would receive it: and the sheriff-clerk did produce before the commissioners, the foresaid letter by Colonel Hill to Ardkinlas, dated at Fort-William the 31st day of December 1791, and bearing that Glenco had been with him, but slipped some days out of ignorance, yet that it was good to bring in a lost sheep at any time, and would be an advantage to render the king's government easy; and with the said sheriff-clerk, the Lord Aberuchil, Mr John Campbell, writer to the signet, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, clerk to the council, do all declare, that Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance with Ardkinlas, his foresaid certificate as to his part of it, did come to Edinburgh, and was seen by them fairly written, and not scored or dashed; but that Sir Gilbert and the other clerk of the council refused to take it in, because done after the day appointed by the proclamation. Whereupon the said Colin Campbell, and Mr John Campbell, went, as they depone, to the Lord Aberuchil, then a privy-councellor, and desired him to take the advice of privy councellors about it: and accordingly, they affirm, that Aberuchil said he had spoke to several privy-councellors, and

particularly to the Lord Stair; and that it was their opinion, that the foresaid certificate could not be received without a warrant from the king, and that it would neither be safe to Ardkinlas, nor profitable to Glenco, to give in the certificate to the clerk of the council; and this the Lord Aberuchil confirms by his deposition, but doth not name therein the Lord Stair: and Colin Campbell, the sheriff-clerk, does farther depone, That with the knowledge of the Lord Aberuchil, Mr John Campbell, and Mr David Moncrieff, clerk to the council, he did by himself, or his servant, score or delete the foresaid certificate, as now it stands scored, as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance, and that he gave it in so scored or obliterate to the said Mr David Moncrieff, clerk of the council, who took it in as it is now produced. But it doth not appear by all these depositions, that the matter was brought to the council board, that the council's pleasure might be known upon it, though it seems to have been intended by Ardkinlas, who both writ himself, and sent Colonel Hill's letter for to make Glenco's excuse, and desired expressly to know the council's pleasure.

After Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, as is said, he went home to his own house, and, as his own two sons above named depone, He not only lived there for some days quietly and securely, but called his people together, and told them *he had taken* the oath of allegiance, and made his *peace, and therefore* desired and engaged them to *live peaceably* under King William's government,

as the depositions of the said two sons, who were present, marked with the letter E, bears.

These things having preceded the slaughter, which happened not to be committed until the 13th of February 1692, six weeks after the deceased Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance at Inverary. The slaughter of the Glenco-men was in this manner, viz. John and Alexander Macdonalds, sons to the deceased Glenco, depone, That Glengary's house being reduced, the forces were called back to the south, and Glenlyon, a captain of the Earl of Argyle's regiment, with Lieutenant Lindsay and Ensign Lindsay, and six score soldiers, returned to Glenco about the first of February 1692, where at their entry the elder brother John met them, with about twenty men, and demanded the reason of their coming; and Lieutenant Lindsay shewed him his orders for quartering there under Colonel Hill's hand, and gave assurance that they were only come to quarter; whereupon they were billeted in the country, and had free quarters and kind entertainment, living familiarly with the people until the 13th day of February. And Alexander farther depones, That Glenlyon being his wife's uncle, came almost every day and took his morning drink at his house; and that the very night before the slaughter, Glenlyon did play at cards in his own quarters, with both the brothers. And John depones, That old Glenco, his father, had invited Glenlyon, Lieutenant Lindsay, and Ensign Lindsay, to dine with him upon the very day the slaughter happened. But on t

13th day of February, being Saturday, about four or five in the morning, Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of the foresaid soldiers, came to old Glenco's house, where, having called in a friendly manner, and got in, they shot his father dead with several shots as he was rising out of his bed; and their mother having got up, and put on her clothes, the soldiers stripped her naked, and drew the rings off her fingers with their teeth; as likewise they killed one man more, and wounded another grievously at the same place. And this relation they say they had from their mother, and is confirmed by the deposition of Archibald Macdonald, indweller in Glenco; who farther depones, that Glenco was shot behind his back with two shots, one through the head, and another through the body, and two more were killed with him in that place, and a third wounded and left for dead: and this he knows, because he came that same day to Glenco's house, and saw his dead body lying before the door, with the other two that were killed, and spoke with the third that was wounded, whose name was Duncan Don, who came there occasionally with letters from the Brae of Mar.

The said John Macdonald, eldest son to the deceased Glenco, depones, The same morning that his father was killed, there came soldiers to his house before day, and called at his window, which gave him the alarm, and made him go to Inner*riggen, where* Glenlyon was quartered; and that *he found Glenlyon* and his men preparing their *arms, which made* the deponent ask the cause;

but Glenlyon gave him only good words, and said they were to march against some of Glengaries men, and if they were ill intended, would he not have told Sandy and his niece? meaning the deponent's brother and his wife, which made the deponent go home and go again to his bed, until his servant, who hindered him to sleep, raised him; and when he rose and went out, he perceived about twenty men coming towards his house, with their bayonets fixed to their muskets; whereupon he fled to the hill, and having Auchnaion, a little village in Glenco, in view, he heard the shots wherewith Auchintriaten and four more were killed; and that he heard also the shots at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon had caused to kill nine more, as shall be hereafter declared; and this is confirmed by the concurring deposition of Alexander Macdonald, his brother, whom a servant waked out of sleep, saying, it is no time for you to be sleeping, when they are killing your brother at the door; which made Alexander to flee with his brother to the hill, where both of them heard the foresaid shots at Auchnaion and Innerriggen. And the said John, Alexander, and Archibald Macdonalds, do all depone, That the same morning there was one Serjeant Barber with a party at Auchnaion, and that Auchintriaten being there in his brother's house, with eight more sitting about the fire, the soldiers discharged upon them about eighteen shot, which killed Auchintriaten and four more; but the other four, whereof some were wounded, falling down as dead, Serjeant Barber

laid hold on Auchintriaten's brother, one of the four, and asked him if he were alive? He answered that he was, and that he desired to die without, rather than within. Barber said, that for his meat that he had eaten, he would do him the favour to kill him without; but when the man was brought out, and soldiers brought up to shoot him, he having his plaid loose, flung it over their faces, and so escaped; and the other three broke through the back of the house and escaped. And at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered, the soldiers took other nine men, and did bind them hand and foot, and killed them one by one with shot; and when Glenlyon inclined to save a young man of about twenty years of age, one Captain Drummond came and asked how he came to be saved, in respect of the orders that were given, and shot him dead. And another young boy of about 13 years, ran to Glenlyon to be saved; he was likewise shot dead. And in the same town there was a woman, and a boy about four or five years of age killed. And at Auchnaion, there was also a child missed, and nothing found of him but the hand. There were likewise several killed at other places, whereof one was an old man about 80 years of age. And all this the deponents say they affirm, because they heard the shot, saw the dead bodies, and had an account from the women that were left. And Ronald Macdonald, indweller in Glenco, farther *depones,* That he being living with his father in a *little town in Glenco,* some of Glenlyon's soldiers *came to his father's* house, the said 13th day of

February, in the morning, and dragged his father out of his bed, and knocked him down for dead at the door; which the deponent seeing, made his escape; and his father recovering after the soldiers were gone, got into another house; but this house was shortly burnt, and his father burnt in it; and the deponent came there after and gathered his father's bones and buried them. He also declares, That at Auchnaion, where Auchintriaten was killed, he saw the body of Auchintriaten and three more, cast out and covered with dung. And another witness of the same declares, That upon the same 13th day of February, Glenlyon and Lieutenant Lindsay, and their soldiers, did in the morning before day, fall upon the people of Glenco, when they were secure in their beds, and killed them; and he being at Innerriggen, fled with the first, but heard shots, and had two brothers killed there, with three men more and a woman, who were all buried before he came back. And all these five witnesses concur, That the foresaid slaughter was made by Glenlyon and his soldiers, after they had been quartered, and lived peaceably and friendly with the Glenco-men about 13 days, and that the number of those whom they knew to be slain were about twenty-five, and that the soldiers after the slaughter, did burn the houses, barns, and goods, and carried away a great spoil of horse, nolt, and sheep, above 1000. And James Campbell, soldier in the castle of Stirling, depones, That in January 1692, he then being a soldier in *Glenlyon*'s company, marched with the company

from Inverlochie to Glenco, where the company was quartered, and very kindly entertained for the space of fourteen days: That he knew nothing of the design of killing the Glenco-men till the morning that the slaughter was committed, at which time Glenlyon and Captain Drummond's companies were drawn out in several parties, and got orders from Glenlyon and their other officers, to shoot and kill all the countrymen they met with; and that the deponent being one of the party which was at the town where Glenlyon had his quarters, did see several men drawn out of their beds, and particularly he did see Glenlyon's own landlord shot by his order, and a young boy of about 12 years of age, who endeavoured to save himself by taking hold of Glenlyon, offering to go any where with him if he would spare his life, and was shot dead by Captain Drummond's order. And the deponent did see about eight persons killed, and several houses burnt, and women flying to the hills to save their lives. And lastly, Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchil depones, That after the slaughter, Glenlyon told him that Macdonald of Innerriggen was killed with the rest of the Glenco-men, with Colonel Hill's pass or protection in his pocket, which a soldier brought and shewed to Glenlyon.

The testimonies above set down being more than sufficient to prove a deed so notoriously known, it *is only* to be remarked, that more witnesses of the *actors themselves* might have been found, if Glen*lyon and his* soldiers were not at present in Flan-

ders with Argyle's regiment: and it is farther added, that Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, who seems, by the orders and letters that shall be hereafter set down, to have had the particular charge of this execution, did march the night before the slaughter, with about 400 men; but the weather falling to be very bad and severe, they were forced to stay by the way, and did not get to Glenco against the next morning, as had been concerted betwixt Major Duncanson and Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton; so that their measures being broke, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and his men came not to Glenco till about eleven of the clock after the slaughter had been committed, which proved the preservation and safety of the tribe of Glenco, since by this means the far greater part of them escaped; and then the Lieutenant-Colonel being come to Cannelochleven, appointed several parties for several posts, with orders that they should take no prisoners, but kill all the men that came in their way. Therefore some of the Lieutenant-Colonel's men marched forward in the glen, and met with Major Duncanson's party, whereof a part under Glenlyon had been sent by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, to quarter there some days before, and these men told how they had killed Glenco and about 36 of his men that morning, and that there remained nothing to be done by the Lieutenant-Colonel and his men, save that they burnt some houses, and killed an old man by the Lieutenant-Colonel's orders, and brought away the spoil of the country; and this in its several parts is testi

fied by John Forbes, major in Colonel Hill's regiment, Francis Farquhar and Gilbert Kennedy, both lieutenants in that regiment, who were all of the Lieutenant-Colonel's party, as their depositions more fully bear.

It may be also here noticed, that some days after the slaughter of the Glenco-men was over, there came a person from —— Campbell of Balcalden, chamberlain (*i. e.* steward) to the Earl of Braidalbine, to the deceased Glenco's sons, and offered to them, if they would declare under their hands, that the Earl of Braidalbine was free and clear of the said slaughter, they might be assured of the Earl's kindness for procuring their remission and restitution, as was plainly deponed before the commissioners.

It remains now to give an account of the warrants, either given, or pretended to be given, for the committing of the foresaid slaughter, for clearing whereof, it is to be noticed, that the king having been pleased to offer, by proclamation, an indemnity to all the Highland rebels who should come in and accept thereof, by taking the oath of allegiance betwixt and the first of January 1692, after the day was elapsed, it was very proper to give instructions how such of the rebels as had refused his Majesty's grace should be treated; and therefore his Majesty, by his instructions of the date of the 11th of January 1692, directed to Sir *Thomas* Livingston, and supersigned and counter-*signed by himself*, did indeed order and authorise *Sir Thomas*, 'To march the troops against the

rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity, *and to destroy them by fire and sword*;' (which is the actual stile of our commissions against intercommuned rebels); but with this express mitigation in the fourth article, viz. 'That the rebels may not think themselves desperate, we allow you to give terms and quarters, but in this manner only, that chieftains and heritors, or leaders, be prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and all other things in mercy, they taking the oath of allegiance; and the community taking the oath of allegiance, and rendering their arms, and submitting to the government, are to have quarters and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers, as the principal paper of instructions produced by Sir Thomas Livingston bears.

After these instructions, there were additional ones given by his Majesty to Sir Thomas Livingston, upon the 16th of the said month of January, supersigned and countersigned by his Majesty, and the date marked by Secretary Stair's hand, which bear orders 'for giving of passes, and for receiving the submission of certain of the rebels;' wherein all to be noticed to the present purpose is, 'That therein his Majesty doth judge it much better, that these who took not the benefit of the indemnity in due time, should be obliged to render upon mercy, they still taking the oath of allegiance;' and then it is added, if 'Mackean of Glenco and that tribe can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public

justice, to extirpate that sect of thieves.' And of these additional instructions, a principal duplicate was sent to Sir Thomas Livingston, and another to Colonel Hill, and were both produced; and these were all the instructions given by the king in this matter.

But Secretary Stair, who sent down these instructions, as his letters produced, written with his hand to Sir Thomas, of the same date with them, testifie, by a previous letter of the date of the 7th of the said month of January, written and subscribed by him to Sir Thomas, says, 'You know, in general, that these troops posted at Inverness and Inverlochie will be ordered to take in the house of Innergarie, and to destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Locheal's lands, Kippochs, Glengaries, and Glenco; and then adds, I assure you your power shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners.' And by another letter of the 9th of the said month of January, which is likewise before the instructions, and written to Sir Thomas, as the former, he hath this expression, 'That these who remain of the rebels are not able to oppose, and their chieftains being all papists, *it is well the vengeance falls there*; for my part, I could have wished the Macdonalds had not divided, and I am sorry that Kippoch and Mackean of Glenco are safe;' and then afterwards, we have an account, '*that Locheal*, Macnaughton, Appin, and Glenco, *took the benefit of* the indemnity at Inverary and *Kippoch, and others* at Inverness.' But this letter

of the 11th of January, sent with the first instructions to Sir Thomas, hath this expression, 'I have no great kindness to Kippoch nor Glenco, and it is well that people are in mercy, and then just now my Lord Argyle tells me, that Glenco hath not taken the oath, *at which I rejoice.* It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst of the Highlands.' But in his letter of the 16th of January, of the same date with the additional instructions, though he writes in the first part of the letter, 'The king does not at all incline to receive any after the diet, but on mercy;' yet he thereafter adds, 'but for a just example of vengeance, I intreat the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose.' And to confirm this by his letter of the same date, sent with the other principal duplicate and additional instructions to Colonel Hill, after having written, that such as render on mercy might be saved, he adds, 'I shall intreat you, that for a just vengeance and public example, the tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose. The Earls of Argyle and Braidalbine have promised, that they shall have no retreat in their bounds, the passes to Ronoch would be secured, and the hazard certified to the Laird of Weems to reset them; in that case Argyle's detachment, with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker, must cut them off, and the people of Appin are none of the best.'

This last letter, with the instructions for Colonel Hill, was received by Major Forbes in his name at Edinburgh, and the Major depones, That

by the allowance he had from the Colonel, he did unseal the packet, and found therein the letter and instructions as above, which he sent forward to Colonel Hill; and that in the beginning of February 1692, being in his way to Fort-William, he met some companies of Argyle's regiment at Bellisheil's, and was surprised to understand that they were going to quarter in Glenco, but said nothing till he came to Fort-William, where Colonel Hill told him, that Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton had got orders about the affair of Glenco, and that therefore the Colonel had left it to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton's management, who, he apprehends, had concerted the matter with Major Duncanson. And Colonel Hill depones, That he understood that Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and Major Duncanson got the orders about the Glenco-men, which were sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton; that for himself, he liked not the business, but was very grieved at it; that the king's instructions of the 16th of January 1692, with the Master of Stair's letter of the same date, were brought to him by Major Forbes, who had received them, and unsealed the packet at Edinburgh, as these two depositions do bear.

Yet the execution and slaughter of the Glenco-men did not immediately take effect, and thereafter, on the 30th of the said month of January, the Master of Stair doth again write two letters, *one to* Sir Thomas Livingston, which bears, 'I *am glad Glenco* did not come in within the time *prefixed; I hope* what is done there may be in

earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together help. I think to harry (that is, to drive) their cattle, and burn their houses, is but to render them desperate lawless men to rob their neighbours, but I believe you will be satisfied it were a great advantage to the nation, that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off; it must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both their men and their cattle. Argyle's detachment lies in Letrickweel to assist the garrison to do all of a sudden. And the other to Colonel Hill, which bears, 'Pray when the thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you, and better not meddle with them than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who have fallen in the mercy of the law, now when there is force and opportunity, whereby the king's justice will be as conspicuous and useful as his clemency to others. I apprehend the storm is so great, that for some time you can do little, but so soon as possible I know you will be at work, for these false people will do nothing but as they see you in a condition to do with them.'

Sir Thomas Livingston having got the king's instructions, with Secretary Stair's letter of the 16th of January, and knowing by a letter he had from the Master of Stair of the date of the 7th of January 1692, that Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton was to be the man employed in the execution of the Glenco-men, in pursuance of the Secretary's letter, he writes to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamil

ton upon the 23d of the said month of January, telling him, 'That it was judged good news that Glenco had not taken the oath of allegiance within the time prefixed, and that Secretary Stair in his last letter had made mention of him, and then adds, 'For, Sir, here is a fair occasion for you to shew that your garrison serves for some use, and seeing that the orders are so positive from Court to me, not to spare any of them that have not timely come in, as you may see by the orders I send to your Colonel, I desire you would begin with Glenco, and spare nothing which belongs to him; but do not trouble the government with prisoners.' As this letter produced by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton bears.

And Sir Thomas being heard upon this letter, declared, that at that time he was immediately returned from his journey to London, and that he knew nothing of any soldiers being quartered in Glenco, and only meant that he should be prosecuted as a rebel standing out, by fair hostility. And in this sense he made use of the same words and orders written to him by Secretary Stair. Thereafter Colonel Hill gives his order to be directed to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, in these terms:—'Sir, You are, with 400 of my regiment, and the 400 of my Lord Argyle's regiment, under the command of Major Duncanson, to march straight to Glenco, and there put in due execution the orders you have received from the commander-in-chief. Given under my hand at Fort-William, the 12th day of February 1692.' And

this order is also produced by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton.

Then the same day Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton wrote to Major Duncanson in these terms:— 'Sir, Pursuant to the commander-in-chief and my Colonel's orders to me, for putting in execution the service against the rebels of Glenco, wherein you, with a party of Argyle's regiment now under your command, are to be concerned; you are therefore to order your affairs so, that you be at the several posts assigned you by seven of the clock to-morrow morning, being Saturday, and fall in action with them; at which time I will endeavour to be with the party from this place at the post appointed them. It will be necessary that the avenues minded by Lieutenant Campbell on the south side be secured, that the old fox nor none of his cubs get away: the orders are, that none be spared, nor the government troubled with prisoners.' And the copy of this last order is produced under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton's own hand, and accordingly the slaughter of Glenco and his poor people did ensue the next morning, being the 13th of February 1692, in the manner narrated.

And upon the whole matter, it is the opinion of the commission, *first*, that it was a great wrong that Glenco's case and diligence, as to his taking the oath of allegiance, with Ardkinlas's certificate of his taking the oath of allegiance on the 6th of *January 1692*, and Colonel Hill's letter to Ardkinlas, and Ardkinlas's letter to Colin Campbell

sheriff-clerk, for clearing Glenco's diligence and innocence, were not presented to the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-council, when they were sent into Edinburgh in the said month of January, and that those who advised the not presenting thereof were in the wrong, and seem to have had a malicious design against Glenco; and that it was a farther wrong, that the certificate as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance, was delete and obliterate after it came to Edinburgh; and that being so obliterate, it should neither have been presented to, or taken in by the clerk of the council, without an express warrant from the council: *secondly*, that it appears to have been known at London, and particularly to the Master of Stair, in the month of January 1692, that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, though after the day prefixed; for he saith in his letter of the 30th of January to Sir Thomas Livingston, as is above remarked, 'I am glad that Glenco came not in within the time prescribed:' *thirdly*, that there was nothing in the king's instructions to warrant the committing of the foresaid slaughter, even as to the thing itself, and far less as to the manner of it, seeing all his instructions do plainly import, that the most obstinate of the rebels might be received into mercy, upon taking the oath of allegiance, though the day was long before elapsed; and that he ordered nothing concerning Glenco and his tribe, 'but that, if they could be well separated from the rest, it *would be a proper* vindication of the public justice *to extirpate that* sect of thieves.' Which plainly

intimates, that it was his Majesty's mind, that they could not be separated from the rest of these rebels, unless they still refused his mercy, by continuing in arms and refusing the allegiance; and that even in that case, they were only to be proceeded against in the way of public justice, and no other way: *fourthly*, that Secretary Stair's letters, especially that of the 11th of January 1692, in which he rejoices to hear that Glenco had not taken the oath, and that of the 16th of January, of the same date with the king's additional instructions, and that of the 30th of the same month, were no ways warranted by, but quite exceeded the king's foresaid instructions, since the said letters, without any insinuation of any method to be taken that might well separate the Glenco-men from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a vindication of public justice, order them to be cut off and rooted out in earnest, and to purpose, and that *suddenly*, and *secretly*, and *quietly*, and *all on a sudden*, which are the express terms of the said letters; and comparing them and the other letters with what ensued, appear to have been the only warrant and cause of their slaughter, which in effect was a barbarous murder, perpetrated by the persons deponed against. And this is yet farther confirmed by two more of his letters, written to Colonel Hill after the slaughter was committed, viz. one on the 5th of March 1692, wherein, after having said, 'That there was much talk at London, that the Glenco-men were murdered in their beds, after

they had taken the allegiance,' he continues, 'For the last, I know nothing of it; I am sure neither you, nor any body impowered to treat or give indemnity, did give Glenco the oath; and to take it from any body else, after the diet elapsed, did import nothing at all; all that I regrate is, that any of the sort got away, and there is a necessity to prosecute them to the utmost.' And another from the Hague, the last of April 1692, wherein he says, 'For the people of Glenco, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary, to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself by shewing all your orders, which are now put in the Paris gazette; when you do right you need fear nobody; all that can be said is, that in the execution it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been.' And this their humble opinion, the commissioners, with all submission, return and lay before his Majesty, in discharge of the foresaid commission.

Sic subscribitur, Tweddale, Annandale, (now Marquis of Annandale, and president of the privy-council); Murray, (now Duke of Athol, and Lord Privy-Seal); James Stuart, (her Majesty's advocate); Adam Cockburn, (late Lord Treasurer Deputy); W. Hamilton, (Lord Whitelaw, one of the Lords of the Session); Ja. Ogilvie, (now Earl of Seafield and Lord High Chancellor); A. Drummond.

The report being agreed on, and signed by the

commissioners, several members moved in Parliament on the 24th of June, that the said report should be laid before the House.

Upon which his Majesty's high commissioner acquainted the Parliament, that the report of the commission for enquiring into the business of Glenco, being sent to his Majesty on Thursday last, he would lay the same before them, with the depositions of the witnesses, and other documents relating thereto, for their satisfaction and full information; and if they thought fit to make any other use of it, he made no doubt it would be made with that deference and submission to his Majesty's judgement, that becometh so loyal and zealous a Parliament, in vindication of the justice and honour of his Majesty's government.

Then the report from the commission for enquiring into the slaughter of the Glenco-men was read, with the depositions of the witnesses, the king's instructions, and the Master of Stair's letters for instructing the said report.

After hearing the said report, it was voted, *nemine contradicente*, that his Majesty's instructions of the 11th and 16th days of January 1692, touching the Highland rebels who did not accept in due time of the benefit of his indemnity, did contain a warrant for mercy to all, without exception, who should take the oath of allegiance, and come in upon mercy, though the first day of January 1692, prefixed by the proclamation of indemnity, was passed; and that therefore these instructions con-

tained no warrant for the execution of the Glencomen made in February thereafter. Then the question was stated and voted, if the execution of the Glenco-men in February 1692, as it is represented to the Parliament, be a murder or not? and carried in the affirmative.

Moved, that since the Parliament has found it a murder, that it may be enquired into who were the occasion of it, and the persons guilty and committers of it, and in what way and manner they should be prosecuted. And after some debate thereon, the method of the said prosecution was delayed, and resolved, that this House will again take the same under consideration first on Monday next. And the Master of Stair's letters were ordered to be put in the clerk's hands, and any Members of Parliament allowed an inspection thereof.

June 26th 1695.

THE inquiry into the persons who were the occasion of the slaughter of the Glenco-men was again proponed, and moved, that before any further procedure in that affair, there may be an address to his Majesty on what is already past. And after some debate thereon, the question stated, proceed further in the inquiry before addressing his Majesty, or address upon what is already past, without any further procedure? and carried, proceed further before address.

Thereafter the question stated and voted, if *they should first* proceed to the Master of Stair's

letters, or the actors of the murder of the Glencomen? and carried, first to consider the Master of Stair's letters.

Then the Master of Stair's letters, with the king's instructions to Sir Thomas Livingston and Colonel Hill, and the 4th article of the opinion of the commission relating to the Master of Stair was read; and after some debate, the question was stated, Whether the Master of Stair's letters do exceed the king's commission, towards the killing and destroying of the Glenco-men or not? and carried in the affirmative.

June 28th 1695.

THE President of Parliament represented, that there was a print dispersed, entituled, "Information for the Master of Stair," reflecting upon the commission for inquiring into the slaughter of the Glenco-men, and arraigning a vote of Parliament. And therefore moved, that it may be inquired who was the author of it, and that both he and the said print may be censured. Mr Hugh Dalrymple, brother to the Master of Stair, and a Member of Parliament, acknowledged himself to be the author, and gave an account of his mistakes, protesting that he therein intended no reflection on the commission, and that the paper was written before the vote past in Parliament, though printed and spread thereafter.

Resolved, that first the author and then the print be censured; and Mr Hugh was ordered to *ask his* Grace and the Parliament pardon, which

he did, again declaring that what was offensive in that paper had happened through mistake.

Thereafter agreed, that the said print was false and calumnious; and the question being stated, if the print spread amongst the Members of Parliament, entituled, "Information for the Master of Stair," ought to be condemned as false and calumnious, and therefore burnt, or only that the print should be so marked in the minutes of Parliament? it carried, that the print should be marked in the minutes of Parliament to be false and calumnious.

Then the Parliament proceeded farther in the inquiry of the slaughter of the Glenco-men; and, in the first place, as to the orders given by Sir Thomas Livingston, in his two letters directed to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton; and the said letters being read, after debate thereon, it was put to the vote, proceed or delay, and carried proceed.

The question was stated, whether Sir Thomas Livingston had reason to give such orders as were contained in these letters or not? and was carried in the affirmative, *nemine contradicente.*

July 8th 1695.

The Parliament having resumed the inquiry into the slaughter of the Glenco-men, and who were the actors; and, in the first place, about Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, and that part of the report of the commission relating to him, and the orders he got, and the orders he said he gave, with the *depositions taken before* the said commission; and *after some debate thereon*, the question was stated

and put to the vote, if, from what appears to the Parliament, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton be free from the murder of the Glenco-men, and whether there be ground to prosecute him for the same or not? and carried he was not clear, and that there was ground to prosecute him.

Then the question was stated and voted as to Major Duncanson, at present in Flanders, if the king should be addressed, either to cause him to be examined there about the orders he received, and his knowledge of that matter; or that he be ordered home to be prosecuted therefore, as his Majesty shall think fit, or not? and carried in the affirmative.

Then that part of the report of the commission as to Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant or Adjutant Lindsay, Ensign Lundy, and Serjeant Barber, read with the depositions of the witnesses against them; and the question stated and voted, if it appeared that the said persons were the actors of the murder of the Glenco-men, under trust; and that his Majesty be addressed to send them home to be prosecuted for the same, according to law, or not? and carried in the affirmative.

Thereafter they voted, if it should be remitted to the committee for the security of the kingdom to draw their address, or a new committee elected for drawing thereof? and carried remit.

The report from the committee for security of the kingdom, in favours of the Glenco-men, read and remitted to the said committee, that there be

a particular recommendation of the petitioners case to his Majesty, brought in by the said committee.

July 10*th* 1695.

THE address about the slaughter of the Glencomen to be sent to the king, read, with several of the Master of Stair's letters to Sir Thomas Livingston and Colonel Hill; and after some debate upon the paragraph touching the Master of Stair, it was voted, approve the paragraph as brought in from the committee. Then the whole address was put to the vote, and approved as follows.

THE

ADDRESS

OF THE

NOBLEMEN, BARONS, AND BURROUGHS, IN PARLIAMENT,

HUMBLY PRESENTED TO HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY UPON THE DISCOVERY COMMUNICATED TO THEM TOUCHING THE MURDER OF THE GLENCO-MEN IN FEBRUARY 1692.

We your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Noblemen, Barons, and Burroughs, assembled in Parliament, do humbly represent to your Majesty, that in the beginning of this session, we thought it our duty, for the more solemn and public vindication of the honour and justice of the government, to enquire into the barbarous slaughter committed in Glenco, February 1692, which hath made so much noise, both in this kingdom and your Majesty's other dominions; but we being informed by your Majesty's commissioner, that we were prevented in this matter by a commission under the great seal for the same purpose, we did, upon the reading of the said commission, *unanimously* acquiesce to your Majesty's pleasure

and returned our humble acknowledgements for your royal care in granting the same; and we only desired that the discoveries to be made should be communicated to us, to the end that we might add our zeal to your Majesty's for prosecuting such discoveries, and that, in so national a concern, the vindication might be also public, as the reproach and scandal had been; and principally that we, for whom it was most proper, might testify to the world, how clear your Majesty's justice is in all this matter.

And now your Majesty's commissioner, upon our repeated instances, communicated to us a copy of the report transmitted by the commission to your Majesty, with your Majesty's instructions, the Master of Stair's letters, the orders given by the officers, and the depositions of the witnesses relating to that report; and the same being read and compared, we could not but unanimously declare, that your Majesty's instructions of the 7th and 16th of January 1692, touching the Highlanders who had not accepted in due time of the benefit of the indemnity, did contain a warrant for mercy to all, without exception, who should offer to take the oath of allegiance, and come in upon mercy, though the 1st of January 1692, prefixed by the proclamation of indemnity, was past, and that these instructions contain no warrant for the execution of the Glenco-men made in February thereafter: and here we cannot but acknowledge your Majesty's *signal clemency* upon this occasion, as well as in *the whole tract of* your government over us; for

had your Majesty, without new offers of mercy, given positive orders for the executing the law upon the Highlanders that had already despised your repeated indemnities, they had but met with what they justly deserved.

But it being your Majesty's mind, according to your usual clemency, still to offer them mercy, and the killing of the Glenco-men being upon that account unwarrantable, as well as the manner of doing it being barbarous and inhuman, we proceeded to vote the killing of them a murder, and to enquire who had given occasion to it, and were the actors in it.

We found, in the first place, that the Master of Stair's letters had exceeded your Majesty's instructions towards the killing and destruction of the Glenco-men. This appeared by comparing the instructions and letters, whereof the just attested duplicates are herewith transmitted; in which letters the Glenco-men are over and again distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, not as the fittest subject of severity, in case they continued obstinate, and made severity necessary, according to the meaning of the instructions, but as men absolutely and positively ordered to be destroyed, without any further consideration, than that of their not having taken the indemnity in due time; and their not having taken it, is valued as a happy incident, since it afforded an opportunity to destroy them; and the destroying of them is urged with a great deal of zeal, as a thing acceptable, and of *public use*; and this zeal is extended even to the

giving of directions about the manner of cutting them off; from all which it is plain, that though the instructions be for mercy to assist all that will submit, though the day of indemnity was elapsed, yet the letters do exclude the Glenco-men from this mercy.

In the next place, we examined the orders given by Sir Thomas Livingston in this matter, and were unanimously of opinion, that he had reasons to give such orders for cutting off the Glenco-men, upon the supposition that they had rejected the indemnity, and without making them new offers of mercy, being a thing in itself lawful, which your Majesty might have ordered; but it appearing that Sir Thomas was then ignorant of the peculiar circumstances of the Glenco-men, he might very well understand your Majesty's instructions in the restricted sense, which the Master of Stair's letters had given them, or understand the Master of Stair's letters to be your Majesty's additional pleasure, as it is evident he did by the orders which he gave, where any addition that is to be found in them to your Majesty's instructions, as is given, not only to the Master of Stair's sense, but in words.

We proceeded to examine Colonel Hill's part of the business, and were unanimous that he was clear and free of the slaughter of the Glenco-men; for though your Majesty's instructions and the Master of Stair's letters were sent straight from *London to him,* as well as to Sir Thomas Livingston, *yet he, knowing* the peculiar circumstances of

the Glenco-men, shunned to execute them, and gave no orders in the matter, till such time as, knowing that his Lieutenant-Colonel had received orders to take with him 400 men of his garrison and regiment, he, to save his own honour and authority, gave a general order to Hamilton, his Lieutenant-Colonel, to take the 400 men, and to put to due execution the orders which others had given him.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton's part came next to be considered; and he being required to be present, and called, and not appearing, we ordered him to be denounced, and to be seized on wherever he could be found; and having considered the orders that he received, and the orders which he said before the commission he gave, and his share in the execution, we agreed, that from what appeared, he was not clear of the murder of the Glenco-men, and that there was ground to prosecute him for it.

Major Duncanson, who received orders from Hamilton, being in Flanders, as well as those to whom he gave orders, we could not see these orders, and therefore we only resolved about him, that we should address to your Majesty, either to cause him be examined there in Flanders about the orders he received, and his knowledge of that affair, or to order him home to be prosecuted therefore, as your Majesty shall think fit.

In the last place, the depositions of the witnesses being clear, as to the share which Captain Campbell *of Glenlyon*, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant

Lindsay, Ensign Lundie, and Serjeant Barber, had in the execution of the Glenco-men, upon whom they were quartered, we agreed, that it appeared that the said persons were the actors in the slaughter of the Glenco-men under trust, and that we should address your Majesty to send them home to be prosecuted for the same according to law.

This being the state of that whole matter, as it lies before us, and which, together with the report transmitted to your Majesty by the commissioner, (and which we saw verified), gives full light to it, "We humbly beg, that considering that the Master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glenco-men has been the original cause of this unhappy business, and hath given occasion in a great measure to so extraordinary an execution, by the warm directions he gives about doing it by way of surprise; and considering the station and trust he is in, and that he is absent, we do therefore beg, that your Majesty will give such orders about him, for vindication of your government, as you in your royal wisdom shall think fit."

And likewise, considering that the actors have barbarously killed men under trust, we humbly desire your Majesty would be pleased to send the actors home, and to give orders to your advocate to prosecute them according to law, there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your government of so foul and scandalous an aspersion, as it has lain under upon this occasion.

We shall only add, that the remains of the

Glenco-men who escaped the slaughter, being reduced to great poverty by the depredation and vastation that was then committed upon them, and having ever since lived peaceably under your Majesty's protection, have now applied to us that we might intercede with your Majesty, that some reparation may be made them for their losses. We do humbly lay their case before your Majesty, as worthy of your royal charity and compassion, that such orders may be given for supplying them in their necessities, as your Majesty shall think fit.

And this the most humble address of the Estates of Parliament, is, by their order and warrant, and in their name, subscribed by

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most humble,

Most obedient, and most faithful

Subject and servant,

ANANDALE, P. P.

July 10*th* 1695.

This address voted and approven.

in the report of the commission; but if you think them necessary, I will send them to you upon notice: but for my part, I don't think them necessary to be inserted, for repeating things needlessly does but weary the reader.

You know that there never was any prosecution against any of those persons charged with this barbarous murder, but that, on the contrary, by the advice of some who were then about his Majesty, several of the officers were preferred, and the whole matter slurred over; so that the crying guilt of this blood must lie upon them, and not upon the nation, since the Parliament could do no more in it, without occasioning greater bloodshed than that they complain of.

You know likewise, that by the influence of the same persons, this report was suppressed in King William's time, though his Majesty's honour required that it should have been published.

THE END.

AN

ABRIDGEMENT, OR SUMMARIE

OF THE

Scots Chronicles;

WITH A

BRIEFE DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND,

BY

JOHN MONIPENNIE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND, &c.

Edinburgh:

PRINTED FOR DAVID WEBSTER, BOOKSELLER, WEST COLLEGE STREET; AND JOHN WYLLIE, 16, HUTCHESON STREET, GLASGOW.

John Pillans, Printer.

1818.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS edition of "the Abridgement or Summarie of the Scots Chronicles," is printed from the edition of 1612, compared and collated with that of John Wreittoun, Edinburgh, 1633. Care has been taken to correct the errors of these impressions, but the old orthography has been retained. The editor hoped he would have been able to communicate some particulars respecting the author, but in this he has been disappointed, notwithstanding he has been at some pains to procure information. It is very probable, however, that our author and John Monypenny of Pitmilly, in the parish of Kingsbarns, in Fifeshire, are the same person, as that gentleman was proprietor of that estate at the time our author published his book. The Monypenny's are one of the most ancient families in that county, and have been in possession of the estate of Pitmilly for more than five hundred years, and from them descended the *Lords Monypenny*, a peerage long dormant, to the title and honours whereof, it is believed, the present Lord Pitmilly, one of the senators of the college of justice, has a legal claim.

DAVID WEBSTER.

EDINBURGH,
9th May, 1818.

SIBILLAE.

Ex Scota, nata Pharonis, regis Egypti,
Ut veteres tradunt Scotia nomen habet.

Of King Pharaoh's daughter, Scots of great fame,
The realm of Scotland hath the original and name.

HECTOR BOETIUS.

Ni fallat fatum Scoti, quocunque locatum,
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

Except old sawes doe faile,
And wisards wits be blinde,
The Scots in place must raigne,
Where they this stone shall finde.

THE

ABRIDGEMENT

OR

SUMMARIE OF THE SCOTS CHRONICLES,

WITH

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THEIR ORIGINALL, FROM THE COMMING OF GATHELUS, THEIR FIRST PROGENITOR, OUT OF GRÆCIA INTO EGYPT; AND THEIR COMMING INTO PORTINGALL, SPAINE; AND OF THEIR KINGS AND GOVERNOURS IN SPAINE, IRELAND, AND ALBION, NOW CALLED SCOTLAND, (HOWBEIT THE WHOLE NUMBER ARE NOT EXTANT,) WITH A TRUE CHRONOLOGIE OF ALL THEIR KINGS,

THEIR

REIGNES, DEATHS, AND BURIALS,

FROM FERGUSIUS, THE FIRST KING OF SCOTLAND, UNTILL HIS ROYALL MAJESTIE, NOW HAPPILY RAIGNING OVER GREAT BRITTAINE AND IRELAND, AND ALL THE ISLES TO THEM APPERTAINING;

WITH

A true description of the whole realme of Scotland, and of the principall Cities, Townes, Abbies, Fortes, Castles, Towers, and Rivers, and of the commodities in every part thereof, and of the Isles in general; with a memoriall of the most rare and wonderfull things in Scotland.

BY JOHN MONIPENNIE.

Printed at Brittaines Bursse, by JOHN BUDGE.

1612.

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY MONARCH

JAMES,

By the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

IT may bee by many justly (most gracious Soveraigne) imputed to mee for no small presumption to present unto your Royal Majestie, a Prince of so great learning and excellent judgement, these simple fruits of my unskilfull endeavours, taken in this short abridgement: In most humble and obedient manner, I doe preferre unto your Highnesse these my weake and unlearned labours, according to my abilitie, which, though unworthie they bee of so great a princely favour, as well for the meannesse of mee the writer, as for the plainnesse and rudenesse of the stile, yet if for the worthinesse of the matter, and of your Majesties great accustomed clemencie, you vouchsaf them your Highnesse favourable regard, they shall bee as fortunate as if they had beene composed by greater and more learned men; wherein briefly may be seene the great and infinit mercie of God towards your Royal Person; that it hath pleased his superexcellent wisdome, by his mightie power to preserve your Highnesse ancient kingdome of Scotland unconquered, under the empyre and government of an hundreth and sixe kings, your Majesties royal progenitors; and in special when almost the whole world was brought under the Romane empyre by the sword. Also to reduce in one peaceable monarch these ancient mightie lands and many islands, which

have beene divided in many severall kingdomes, one of Britons, seven of Saxons, one of Scots, one of Picts, one of Orknay, and sixe of Ireland; also some of the valiant and illustre noble actes of your Highnesse most royall and ancient progenitors, and of their raignes, lives, deaths, and burials. Accept them, most Mightie Monarch, I most humblie beseech your Royall Majestie, in your Highnesse gracious protection, and according to my bounden dutie, incessantly, with all humilitie, I will pray the great God of all might and power (to his eternall glory) long to preserve your Royall Majestie, and your gracious Queene, in blessed health and peace, to raigne over these your Highnesse great united kingdomes, and to enlarge the same, and your Majesties most royall and hopefull posteritie to the worlds end,

Your Majesties most humble

And obedient subject,

J. MONIPENNIE.

THE

ABRIDGEMENT,

OR

SUMMARIE OF THE SCOTTISH CHRONICLE,

With a short description of their originall, from the comming of Gathelus, their progenitour, out of Græcia into Egypt, and of their kings and governours in Spaine, Ireland, and Albion, (howbeit the whole number bee not extant): with a true chronologie of all the kings lineally descended from Fergusius, the first king of Scotland, untill his sacred Majestie, now happily raigning over all Great Britaine, Ireland, and all the Isles to them appertaining.

GATHELUS, son of Cecrops, king of Athens, by his insolence made many invasions in Macedonia, and Achaia in Græcia. And because he could not suffer correction, hee with many valiant Grecians came into Egypt, and followed Pharao in his warres against the Aethiopians, who with great crueltie had wasted the most part of Egypt, unto Memphis, the principall citie of that realme. Pharao, with support of Gathelus, vanquished and overcame the Aethiopians in a most dangerous battell. And Gathelus valiantly vanquished and wanne their principall citie, called Meroe. Afte

this great victorie, he being a lustie person, strong of bodie, and of a great spirit, wanne great favour with the king and his familiars, that the King's daughter, Scota, was given in marriage unto Gathelus, with many lands. Shortly after, Pharao dyed, and another Pharao succeeded, who opprest the Israelites with great servitude and tyrannie. Gathelus abhorring such crueltie, conferring with Moses, also having response of the oracles of Egypt, was foreseene of the plagues to come upon Egypt, made provision for all things necessarie for sayling, and tooke shipping with his wife Scota and his valiant Grecians, and many Egyptians, from the river Nilus, the yeare of the world 2453. After long sayling and travell, hee arrived at the land of Numidia: being stopped to land, he pulled up sayles, and with a dangerous and painefull passage through the Straites, hee landed in one part of Spaine, then called Lusitania, by his arrival called Portgathel, now Porthingall: at his landing, the old inhabitants came against him with arrayed battell, whom he vanquished. He builded one city upon the river Munda, then called Brachare, now called Barsolona. Then after, he came into the north part of Spaine, now called Gallicia, where he builded a citie called Brigance, now Compostella, where he reigned with princely dignitie, and instituted lawes, and named his people Scottes, after his wife Scota, for shee had borne unto him two sonnes, twinnes, *Hiber and Himecus.* He brought with him from *Egypt the marble* fatall chayre, which was trans-

ported to Ireland, and to Albion, now called Scotland, wherein all their kings were crowned, until the time of King Edward the first, who transported the whole ancient regall monuments of Scotland, with the marble fatall chayre, to Westminster, where it remaineth to this day.

The Scots shall brooke that realme as native ground,
(If weirds faile not) where ever this chayre is found.

Gathelus sitting in his marble chayre, within this citie of Brigance, governed his people with princely dignitie peaceablie, and instituted lawes. And seeing his people increase with such great multitude, and not willing to violate the band made with the old inhabitants; being informed by divers expert explorators, that there was an isle opposite to Spaine, on the north, which a rude people inhabited, having no lawes nor manners: therefore he brought all the shippes he could get with expedition to the next sea port, with sufficient provision, with Hiber and Himecus, accompanied with valiant warriours, and ordained Hiber to be admirall to possesse the said isle, which they obeyed; and so hoysing up sayle, with fortunate winds, arrived the fifth day after in the said island. Immediately landing, their people then pitched their tents on the next trenches. The rude inhabitants, amazed at the arriving and landing of such a multitude of warriours, fled with their cattell and goods into thei

cavernes. Hiber commanding certaine of his warriours to passe foorth, and if the inhabitants would bee willingly subdued, no slaughter to be committed upon them. The inhabitants being brought as prisoners to the admirall, and seeing him merciful, rendred themselves and their goods; and hee received them with such benevolence, that he suffered the old inhabitants to increase with his people, under one name and law, and called the land Hibernia, now Ireland. Hiber turning into Spaine, left his brother Himecus with a strong garison of valiant warriours, with wives and children, to inhabite the land, and to hold the same under obedience and subjection. At his return into Spaine, his father being deceased, hee succeeded king, and augmented his empyre, and conquered sundry lands from the Spaniards, having with him at all times a strong guard of valiant men. By his puissance and chivalrie, hee subdued the people in such maner, that he was holden in great estimation and reverence, that they were constrained to seeke his peace, the land beeing named after Hiber, Hibernia; the Scots and old inhabitants grew under one name and blood, with such tender and friendly benevolence, (not remembering of old injuries), each one willing to defend his neighbour, (as well in peace as wars), as his brother or father. Of Hiber descended, by long progression, a great posteritie lineally succeeding, amongst whom were many *noble and famous* kings; howbeit, the whole *number of them* are not extant.

Himecus governed Ireland in great felicitie, justice, and tranquillity, both the Scots and the old inhabitants, during his life time. Immediately after his decease, arose an odious controversie betweene the Scots and the old inhabitants, for the government, every nation contending to have a governour of their owne blood, which contention enduring long time, at last they created two governours, betweene whom were continual battells and great slaughter on either side, through ambition and burning desire to be sole governour of all Ireland. After long and dangerous battells, the two people, broken with sundry displeasures, were constrained to take peace; howbeit, the same endured but a short time, each one of them pursuing other with battell, and yet they dwelt many yeares together, by enterchange of peace and warres, while at the last the Scots suffering many injuries, sent their ambassadour to Metellius, who was then king of Scots in Spaine, desiring to have support against the old inhabitants of Ireland, declaring them to be a rude wild people, impatient to suffer any empire above them, so that the Scots can have no tranquillitie, unlesse the said people were the more speedily tamed and subdued. This foresaid message was the more acceptable to the King Metellius, for it concerned the commonwealth both of the Scots nation in Spaine and Ireland, descending (by long progression) of one lineage and blood, and willingly satisfying the aforesaid ambassadour's request, trusting the same *to be no lesse* honor and glory to himselfe, as

profit to his friends. Therefore, the king sent his three sonnes, Hermoneus, Ptolomeus, and Hibert, with a great armie of valiant men, into Ireland, where they with right dangerous battells vanquished the old inhabitants, and brought them under subjection. Hermoneus returning into Spaine, left his two brethren to governe the land, who governed the same long time after in great tranquillitie and justice, instituting lawes, and instructed the priests to make incense and sacrifice in the same maner as the Egyptians used; so both the people increased many yeares in great felicitie, peace, and riches, during the government of Ptolomeus and Hibert, and long after their decease. But too great prosperitie engendreth evil maners, and causeth men to work often displeasures upon themselves, finding no forraigne enemies to invade them at home. The people after long peace were divided for the government, contending for the same with great rigour and slaughter on both sides, untill the one had almost utterly destroyed the other, if they had not beene reconciled by a nobleman named Thanaus, principall ambassadour sent by the king then raigning over the Scots in Spaine, (rejoycing of the felicitie succeeding to his friends), and to cause them by his prudent consultation, to increase together under one minde. Thanaus being a prudent man, bearing neutrall affection to both the parties, perswaded them at sundrie conventions *to remove all contention*, and to elect one (whom *they thought most* expedient) to bee their king,

and to bee obedient to him in all their government. Through this perswasion, the whole people had such fervent desire to have a king, that all old injuries being forgotten, they appoynted Thanaus to elect a king, whom hee thought most expedient, and hee, seeing their minds willing to have a neutrall king, declaring to them that there was in Spaine a noble prince, of great severitie and justice, named Simon Brek, well accustomed with their lawes, and lineally descended from the ancient King Metellius, whom hee thought most fittest to be their king. The whole people hearing the name of Simon Brek, were well content to have him their king, because that name was esteemed verie fortunate in those dayes. Then after, with the consent of the whole people, ambassadours were sent into Spaine to request the said Simon to come into Ireland to bee their king. Hee knowing by grave advisemten the intent of the ambassadours, provided a great fleete of shippes, with all things necessarie; and finally, by prosperous winds arrived in Ireland, where hee was solemnly received, and crowned in the chayre of marble, which hee brought out of Spaine, esteemed as a most rich jewell in those dayes; from the beginning of the world 3314; from the flood of Noah 1658; from the building of Rome 102; before the birth of Christ 651. Hee reigned with great felicitie peaceably fourty yeares, being specially counsailled by the aforesaid Thanaus, to whom hee gave sundrie lands, lying in the south *part of Ireland*, beside the river Birsus, which

lands are now called Dowdall, where hee dwelt with the people hee brought with him out of the famous citie Brigance, now called Compostella. They were called Brigandes, of whom after, by processe of time, descended many valiant and noble men, who came with Fergusius the first king in Scotland, by whom all the lands now called Galoway, were then called Brigance, whose inhabitants were ever full of manhood, and strongest enemies against Romanes, Britaines, and Pictes. Simon deceased, his sonne Fanduf succeeded king; after Fanduf succeeded Ethion; after Ethion succeeded Glaucus; after Glaucus succeeded Nathasil; after Nathasil succeeded Rothesay.

Rothesay was the first king that brought Scots with him in Albion. The first isle that hee inhabited, hee called after his own name, Rothesay, the remnant isles were called Hebrides, after Hiber, the eldest sonne of Gathelus. Rothesay hearing of the death of his father Nathasil, hee returned into Ireland, and was there crowned king. The yeare that Scots were brought out of Ireland into Albion, was from the empyre of Simon Brek in Ireland, 216 years; from the beginning of the world 3530. The Scots spread in sundry parts of Albion, lying farre north, and inhabited many isles. The first part that they tooke possession of was named Ardgael, from Gathelus, which now is called Ardgile. They being divided into sundry tribes, elected certaine captaines to every tribe, to governe them both in peace and

warre, having the name of their captaine in great reverence, swearing by their names; which custome was long observed in those isles and the high lands. Then after about 150 yeares, a banished people named Picts, came forth of Denmarke to search a dwelling place, and after they were inhibited to land in France, Britaine, and Ireland. They landed in Albion, first in Orknay, of olde called the old realme of the Picts. The seas betweene Orknay and Caithnes is called Pentland Firth, and the lands now called Louthean, (was of old called Pentland), after the name of the Picts. Then after they came into Caithnes, Ros, Murray, Merns, Angus, Fiffe, and Louthean, and expelled all the olde inhabitants. They were a civill people, right ingenuous and crafty both in peace and warres. After their planting in the aforesaid parts, they elected a king to governe them, and hold them in justice, and made great policy in building of munitions, townes, and castles. And because they knew all people without issue to succeede, should perish, they sent their ambassadours to the Scots, to have their daughters in marriage, shewing (though they were of strange blood) they should not be so smally regarded, seeing they with no lesse prudence than manhood, have sustained incredible dangers both by sea and land; and now lately conquered (through the benevolence of the gods) right plenteous lands, with such peace and tranquillitie, that no other people may claime them by reason: trusting surely (if gods support them), by their

owne industrie to be equall to any their neighbours, both in peace and warres. Further, if the Scots condescended to their honourable desires, it might be, they increasing together, (so strong under one blood), that they might resist the fury of their enemies the better, when it hapned them to be invaded. This ambassage was not pleasant to the Scots at the first, thinking it unworthie to have any society or marriage with an unknowne and banished people: but by grave advisement, and being profoundly resolved, and finding themselves as yet not able to resist the force of the Britons, their old enemies, they determined to give their daughters to the Picts in marriage, and to have a band of peace with them, with conditions that everie one of them shall enjoy the lands which pertained unto them before the marriage, and to concur together with the whole puissance, as oft as they were invaded by enemies. Any that did offence to any of them, should be reputed as enemies to them both. And as oft as the crowne of the Picts should come in question for lack of an heire, the king to bee elected of the nearest of the woman's blood. These conditions accepted on all sides, the Scots gave their daughters in marriage to the Picts. The Britons suspecting this marriage, and dreading the increasing of this confederat people under one blood in short time, that neither might the Britons for the time present, nor their posteritie, resist the puissance of these two united people. Therefore, being minded to destroy them both, and to invade them with

fraudulent slights, rather than with any force of battell; and sending their ambassadours to the Picts, allured the Picts to violate their band with the Scots. By this perswasion and craftie dealing of the Britons, the band was dissolved; and moving occasion of battell against the Scots, commanded by generall edict, no Scots to be found in their bounds at a prefixed day, under paine of death. The day being expired, all Scots within their bounds were killed without mercie, as breakers of their lawes. The Scots, impatient to sustaine such injuries, killed as many of the Picts; so there followed continuall killing and murther on all sides, not regarding affinitie, blood, time, nor place. In this maner the peace dissolved, the Picts denounced battell to the Scots; then after followed continuall incursions and invasions on either parties. The Scots assembling in Ardgile, were sufficiently resolved, that the battell that they were to hold, was not only against the Picts, but also against the Britons. Therefore it was agreed to send their ambassadours to their ancient progenitors and friends in Ireland, to have their support and counsell in this most dangerous matter: and for that pluralitie of captaines, (as often occurreth), raiseth sedition, the best is to elect one to have empyre above the rest, by whose manhood and counsell they might defend their lives and liberties, against a false and perjured people, invading them without any occasion. The ambassadours being directed to Ireland, complained of the wicked offence done by the Picts, and desired support.

Ferquardus, (then being king of the Scots in Ireland), greatly moved for the displeasure done to his friends in Albion, sent his sonne Fergusius, a wise and valiant prince, with many valiant souldiers; and to give them the more esperance and assurance of permanent and good fortune, he sent with them the fatall marble chayre. Fergusius was the more pleasantly received by the Scots of Albion, because their commonwealth approached to great danger, by a most perilous apparent battell. Then after a counsell was called in Ardgile, where Fergusius made a large oration and acceptable speech. Therefore, by grave consultation, they condescended to be governed by the empyre of one king, as well in peace as in any trouble appearing against their enemies. Furthermore, to remove all suspicion of hatred, (because everie tribe desired a king of their owne linage), they elected Fergusius, both for his noble blood, and other his excellent vertues, to be their king. Moreover, he was so approved in martiall deeds and justice, that no captaine of the tribes might be any ways compared unto him.

1. Fergusius, the first king of Scots (in Albion, now called Scotland), son to Ferquhard, king of Ireland, was crowned in the fatall marble chayre which he brought with him, (by respons of the gods) to establish his reign in Scotland; the year from the creation of the world 3641; before the *coming of* Christ 330; in the first year of the 112 *Olimpiad; in the* 421 year after the building of *Rome; about* the beginning of the fourth ma-

narchy, when Alexander the Great vanquished Darius, the last monarch of Persia, in the reign of King Chimarus, king of Britons. The king employed his whole mind to resist the injury of this battell moved by the Picts; he calling all the captaines, ordained them to bee prepared with forty dayes provision, to passe with him: he made an agreement and concord amongst all his nobles and captaines, commanding his people to be obedient to their captaines, hee making sacrifice to his gods, (as the custome was), praying the gods to take vengeance of the partie that was the first occasion of battell against other, and to grant him felicitie in his just defence, that victory might succeed to him without any great damage of his people. The Picts assembled an army, with many Britons concurring to their support, appeared on either side a wicked and unnatural battell betweene two confederate people, friends, fathers, and sonnes. The Picts came first into the Scots lands, against whom, with no lesse courage than manhood, the king with his valiant Scots, with ancient armes displayed in forme of a banner, in which was a red lion rampant, in a field of gold. Whilst the Scots and Picts were in array in each others sight, the armie of Britons stood in array also, devising what way they might destroy them both; with firme purpose, when the Scots and Picts were vanquished, the one by the other, that the party victorious should utterly be *destroyed* by their fresh armie; and when both *these peoples* were destroyed by this slight, th

Britons might enjoy both their realmes in Albion without any impediment. This subtill slight was discovered to King Fergusius by a banished Briton; through which both the armies moved no lesse by fear of enemies, than by their owne proper damage, prolonged the battell certaine dayes. King Fergusius desired communication with the king of the Picts, who willingly, with some of his nobles, had communication a long time together: after long conference and deliberat consultation with their counsellers on both parties, and ruthfull crying of the Picts wives, being the Scots daughters, peace was finally concluded betweene the two confederat people, under these conditions, redresse of all injuries being made on all parties. The Britons (movers of this battell) shall be reputed as enemies to them both, all other charges to be at the pleasure and will of the two kings. And when any enemy occurred, that they and their people should conjoyne together under one minde and ordinance. This peace being more strongly corroborat, the kings returned home. King Fergusius, in a most dangerous battell, assisted by the Picts, vanquished the Britons, which time King Coyl, or Chimarus, (unwarilie keept by his nobles), was killed in the land after his name, then called Coyl, now Kyle, in Scotland. After this victorie, the king called his whole nobles and subjects to a generall convention, and hee making a large and plausible oration and speech, the nobles and subjects condescended and agreed, that King Fergusius and his posteritie

should possesse the crowne of Scotland; whereupon charters and evidences were granted to him and his successors for ever.

The kingdome of Scotland being confirmed to King Fergusius, his heires and successors, with deliberat counsell of his nobles, hee divided the whole lands then inhabited by the Scots, amongst his nobles and captaines of the tribes, by lots or cavils. The first lot chanced or fell unto Cornath, captaine, and his tribe; viz. the lands of Caithnes, lying over against Orknay, betweene Dunnisby and the river of Thane. Secondly, to Captaine Lutork, the lands betweene the water of Thane and Nesse, now called Ros. This Lutork came with a band of valiant men out of Ireland, with King Fergusius, into Albion. This land of Ros lyeth in breadth from Cromartie, to the water of Lochtie. In this countrie was the famous castle of Urquhart, of which the ruinous walles remaine in great admiration. Thirdly, the Captaine Warroch, the lands lying betweene Spey and Nesse, from the Almaine to the Irish seas; the people inhabitants of this part (after their captaine) were called Wars, being seditious, they were expelled, and the Murrayes possessed the land, and called the same land Murray land. Fourthly, to Captaine Thalis, the lands of Boyne, Aynie, Bogewell, Gariot, Farmartyn, and Bowquhan. These lands were then called under one name, Thalia, by the name of their captaine. Fiftly, to Captaine Martoch, all the lands of Marre, Badzenoth, and Lochquhaber. The sixt, to Captaine

Novance, the lands of Lorne and Kyntier, with the high places and mountaines thereof, lying from Marre to the Irish seas. The seventh to Atholus, the lands of Athole, for he was descended of the Scots of Spaine, and came out of Spaine into Ireland, and with Fergusius hee came into Scotland. The eight to Creones and Epidithes, two captaines of the tribes, the lands of Strabrawne and Braidawane, lying west from Dunkeld. The ninth to Captaine Argathelus, the lands of Ardgile, his people were named Argatheles, from Gathelus, their first progenitor, but now they are called men of Ardgile. The tenth to Captaine Lolgonas, the land of Levenox and Cliddisdale. The eleventh to Captaine Silurch, the lands of Siluria, which region is now divided into Kyle, Carrike, and Cunningham; the inhabitants were right ingenious and strong. The twelfth to the Brigandes, the lands of Brigance, now called Galloway.

King Fergusius, after the dividing of these lands, instituted lawes to represse vice; hee builded the castle of Berigone in Lochquhaber. He past the remnant of his dayes in good peace with the Britons and Picts. At the last hee was elected as judge arbitrall to discerne upon certaine high controversies chancing amongst his friends in Ireland. He, accompanied with certaine of his nobles, past into Ireland, and pacified them of all *matters:* returning home, by a verie dangerous *tempest, perished* with all his nobles that were in *his company,* upon a rock in the sea called after

his name Craigfergus, the five and twentie yeare of his reign. In his reign was Morindus, king of Britons, and Cruthneus Camelon, king of Picts, who builded upon the water of Carron the city of Camelon, the principall and strongest city of the Picts, which resisted the Romans and Britons, untill that Kenneth, king of Scotland, (who exiled the Picts out of Albion), brought it unto utter subversion. This Cruthneus Camelon builded also the towne and castle of Edinburgh, some time called the Maiden Castle, for all the noble young women of the Picts were nourished and learned in all skilfull labour of their hands, untill they were ready to marry.

Fergusius departed this present life, as aforesaid, a convention was holden by the nobles for electing of a king. After a long disputation and reasoning, it was concluded by plain consent of parliament, and enacted, when it hapned their king to decease, and having heires begotten of his bodie, being children, the nearest of the king's blood, and fittest to doe justice, shall possess the crowne for his time: after his death, the king's sonne shall succeed to the crowne without impediment, if he were able thereto. By the same act it was prohibited children to be kings. This custome endured long time, which raised much discord in the realme of Scotland, for the father's brother raigning in the minority of his nephew, cast the chiefest business to destroy him, and likewise the nephew, to the father's brother, for ambition to the crowne, through which occurred

continuall killing of kings and nobles, to the great damage of the realme and commonwealth.

2. Feritharis, brother to Fergusius, by the aforesaid act, began his reign in the year of the world 3666; before the coming of Christ 305; from the beginning of the reign of Scotland, 26 yeares. He was a good king, and severe justicer, and was willing to have discharged himself of the kingdom, in favour of Ferlegus, eldest sonne to his brother Fergusius, which his nobles would not condescend unto, because of the statute and act of parliament lately made, which continued untill the time of the reign of King Kenetus the third, almost 1205 yeares. He was killed by the aforesaid Ferlegus, the fifteenth year of his reign. Ferlegus, the murtherer, and all others participant with him, being banished, were fugitives among the Picts; and finding no securitie of his life, hee past into Briton, where hee spent the rest of his dayes in great misery.

3. Mainus, King Fergusius second sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 3680; before Christ 291; after the beginning of the reign 41. Hee was a noble king, a good justicer, for hee exercised justice aires for repressing of trespassors, and ratified the old league with Crinus, king of Picts, holding good peace with his confederates and Britons. He died peaceably the nine and twentieth year of his reign.

4. Dornadilla succeeded his father Mainus, in the year of the world 3709; before Christ 262; after the beginning of the reign 70. He was a

good king, and confirmed peace with the Picts and Britons. He delighted greatly in hunting, races, and hounds, made certaine lawes profitable for hunting, which were observed many yeares after. He died peaceably the eight and twentieth year of his reign.

5. Nothatus succeeded his brother Dornadilla, (whose sonne Rewther was a child, not able to governe by virtue of the foresaid statute), the year of the world 3738; before Christ 233; after the beginning of the reign 98. He was an avaritious cruell tyrant. Hee was killed by Dowall, one of his nobles, captaine of the Brigandes, the twentieth year of his reign.

6. Reutherus, Dornadilla his sonne, succeeded the year of the world 3758; before Christ 213; after the reign 118. Hee being young, (assisted by Dowall), raised great contention by the perswasion of Ferquhart, captaine of Kintire and Lorne, (cousin to Nothatus the tyrant late killed) a man of subtill wit, and having great ambition to the crowne. Betweene the aforesaid parties there were cruell warres. Ferquhart being fugitive in Ireland, returned, being assisted with many Irishmen, with the inhabitants of Kintire, Lorne, Ardgile, Caithnes, Murray, and with a great armie. Dowall resisting, came with a great power, (accompanied with the young king, and the king of the Picts), and many other his friends. There was a cruell battell and killing of chieftaines and nobles on both parties. The king of Picts, with many of his nobles, pitifully killed. Reutherus, the

young king, pursued and taken at the castle of Calender. By this unhappy battell was such terrible slaughter, that neither Scots nor Picts were left living sufficient to inhabite their realmes, nor to withstand their enemies. Afterwards the Scots and Picts were most cruelly invaded by the Britons, and a great multitude killed, the rest exiled. King Reutherus and his people past into Ireland, and the Picts past into Orknay. King Reutherus returning from Ireland, and the Picts with their King Gethus returning from Orknay, they gave battell to the king of Britons, and obtaining victory by the high and soveraigne manhood, and valiantnesse of the foresaid King Reutherus: the Britons rendred all the forts, landes, and townes, pertaining to the Scots and Picts, with faithfull promise never to return to invade them in time coming. This peace being concluded, the Scots, Picts, and Britons, continued in great tranquility many yeares after. The king enduring the rest of his dayes, had good peace, and died the sixe and twentieth year of his reign.

7. Rheuda succeeded his brother Reutherus in the year of the world 3784; before Christ 187; after the beginning of the reign 144. He was a good king, he caused sepultures to be made for noble and valiant men; he brought artificers into his realme, and instituted sundry good lawes. In his time came certaine orators, philosophers, from King Ptolomeus of Egypt, who were pleasantly received and well entertained, because they were descended of the Egyptians his ancient forefathers.

These orators did write and consider the situation of the hilles, mountaines, vallies, rivers, loches, frithes, isles, townes, and forts, within the realme of Scotland, and the lands thereto pertaining, as also to the Picts. He reigned peaceably sixteene yeares, and resigned the crowne to Thereus, sonne to King Reutherus.

8. Thereus, Reutherus sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 3799; before Christ 171; after the reign 158. Hee appeared in the first sixe monthes to be a vertuous prince; but after, he became an unwise cruell tyrant. Therefore, being degraded of all honor, he was exiled, and Conan, captaine of the Brigandes, elected to be governor, who governed the realme peaceably during the exile of Thereus, who died in the citie of York in misery, the twelfth year of his reign.

9. Josina succeeded his brother Thereus, the year of the world 3810; before Christ 161; after the reign 170. Hee was a peaceable and good king, ratifying peace with his confederates the Picts, and also with the Britons. He was a good medecinar and herbestar. In his time were brought to his presence in Berigone, two venerable philosophers, pleasant of visage, almost naked, being priests of Spaine, passing from Portingall to Athens, and by unmerciful tempest, were ship broken at Ros, their ship and companie, with mariners, all perished, they only saved. After refreshing and good entertainment, the king desired and demanded of them what they understood by their science, of the nature of the ground

Scotland. After good and deliberat advisement, (so far as they might conjecture), there was more riches and profit to be gotten within the veins of the earth of Scotland, than above, for it was given more to the winning of mines and mettals, than any production of corn. They knew this by the influence of the heavens. Also they learned the people to worship only God the Creator, prohibiting them to make sacrifice (as the custome was), to Isis and Apis, the gods of the Egyptians, but only to make their sacrifice, prayers, and adoration, in their temples (without any imagery), to the eternall God, Creator of heaven and earth, which the people for the most part observed long time. King Josina being a vertuous prince, died in peace the twentie fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Berigone.

10. Finnanus succeeded his father Josina, the year of the world 3834; before Christ 137; after the reign 194; a wise and vertuous king, a good justicer, with advice of his nobles, rewarding them honourably after their deservings, winning the hearts of his people, ruled with great felicitie, increasing in riches. He did institut prelates and clerkes to bee in the Isle of Man, instructing noblemens' children in their youth. This vertuous king married his sonne Durstius, with Agafia, daughter to the king of Britons. Hee wan great favour among them; he visited the king of Picts, who was vexed with a vehement fever in Camelon. Hee died there the thirtieth year of his reign, and was brought to Berigone, and there buried among the sepultures of his progenitors.

11. Durstius succeeded his father Finnanus, the year of the world 3864; before Christ 107; from the beginning of the reign 224. Hee was a cruel and trayterous tyrant, killed in battell by his nobles, the ninth year of his reign.

12. Evenus *primus*, succeeded his brother Durstius, the year of the world 3873; before Christ 98; after the reign 133; a wise, just, and vertuous king. Hee was the first that caused his nobles and subjects to give the oath of fidelitie. Hee executed justice severly in all parts of his realme. At length there came ambassadours from the Picts, shewing that the Britons were in armour, purposing to besiege their city Camelon. The king, to assist his confederate friends, came with expedition against the Britons. Scots and Picts went forward with great courage: the Britons with no lesse audacity on the other part: followeth a very dangerous battell with uncertaine victory, untill the night severed them. The confederate kings seeing their army broken, retired in the night. The Britons so broken, and despairing of new support, retired in the same maner as discomfited people; their campe standing with their carriage. The confederate people advertised hereof, returned and parted the spoyle by custome of armes. The king returned to Berigone, rewarded their friends that were slaine in the battell, and promoted others to publick offices, some with riches and goods, and the rest of his dayes he was a severe justicer, and died in peace the nineteenth *year of his* reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

13. Gillus, bastard sonne to Evenus, usurped the crowne, and traiterously killed two sonnes of Durstius, contending for the crowne, in the year of the world 3892; before Christ 97; after the reign 252. A crafty tyrant, killed in battell by Cadellus, captain of the Brigandes, the second year of his reign, his head cut off, his body buried in Dunstaffage.

14. Evenus *secundus*, Donallus sonne, King Finnanus brother, succeeded in the year of the world 3894; before Christ 77; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 254. Hee was a good justicer, civill, vertuous, and peaceable king. Cadellus, after the killing of Gillus, returning out of Ireland with his victorious army, by rage of tempest were almost all perished. Cadellus was truely rewarded with many landes by the king, and comforted by him concerning his great losse of nobles and friends. King Evenus marrying Siora, daughter of Gethus, king of the Picts, confirmed the old band. After that hee vanquished Balus, king of Orknay, who finding no way to escape, killed himself. Hee died in peace the seventeenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

15. Ederus, Durstius sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 3911; before Christ 60; after the reign 271: a wise, valiant, and good king. Bredus of the Isles, (cousin to Gillus, killed as is before mentioned), made insurrection. Shortly after, the king pursuing him and his associates, they were all taken captives, and many, with the

said Bredus, killed. Cassibilian, king of Britons, sent his ambassadours to the king of Scots, desiring support against Julius Cæsar, the Roman emperor, who was ready with most dreadfull ordinance to come into Albion. The king and nobles receiving the ambassadours courteously, Androgeus, special ambassadour, after a large and serious oration, the king and nobles being advised, sent unto London ten thousand chosen men, under the conduct and government of Cadallan and Dowall, captaines of the Brigandes and Lorne. Also an army of Picts came at the request of Ederus. The Britons were raised in great esperance of victory by the aid of Scots and Picts, for they had no little confidence in their manhood and chivalry. King Cassibilian went forward with his whole power against the Romans. There ensued a dangerous and doubtful battell; at the last the Romanes were fugitive, and being minded to renew the battell, Julius (hearing of the great destruction of his ships), changed his mind, hoysted sayles in the night, and returned into France, leaving behind them a great prey of goods, when Julius Cæsar was forced to avoid Albion. The Britons, Scots, and Picts, parted the spoyle gotten in his campe by custome of armes, rejoycing of this glorious victory. Cadallan and Dowall, richly rewarded by Cassibilian, returned with the Scots army, at whose coming the king was greatly rejoyced; then followed such love and kindnesse betweene the Britons, Scots, and Picts, that it appeared them

to live in perpetuall peace. The king passing to Innerness, was certainly informed by sundry merchant strangers, that Julius had pacified France to his empire, and making provision for a new armie to return into Briton, to revenge the injuries done unto him the last year. He sends his ambassadours to Cassibilian, promising (if he pleased) to send ten thousand chosen men unto his aid and support. The Britons (moved with vain arrogancy), refused to have any supply of Scots or Picts. Julius returning into Briton, was three sundry times put back, but at the last Cassibilian was vanquished, and his whole valiant captaines taken or killed, and his lands made to pay three thousand pound of silver to the Romans for tribute. Julius sendeth his ambassadours to the Scots and Picts, offering them conditions of peace two several times. They were resolute to remaine free, not to be subject, and refusing all conditions of peace, were willing to defend their lives and liberties. Julius being minded to invade the Scots and Picts, was advertised of a sudden uproar in France, for which cause he passed into France. Murket, Gildus his nephew, made insurrection against the king. Therefore he sent Cadallan with armed men, who hanged Murket with his accomplices. The king continued in good peace the rest of his days. He died peaceably the forty eight year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

16. Evenus tertius, succeeded his father Ederus *the year of the* world 3959; before Christ 12;

after the reign 319. Hee was a luxurious avaritious tyrant, retaining a hundred concubines, and not being satiate with them. He was taken in a battell captive, and imprisoned, and was killed by a young child the first night. The child was executed on the morrow, the seventh year of his reign. He was buried at Dunstaffage.

17. Metellanus, Ederus brother's son, succeeded the year of the world 3966; before the coming of Christ four years; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 326. Hee was a very modest, civill, and good king, peace being universally at the birth of our Saviour Christ. The Roman Emperor Augustus sent his ambassadours into Briton, requesting the Britons to continue peace, with whom the king sent many rich jewels to Augustus, to be offered in their capital. Hee wan sure amity of them, which endured long. In this time were in Rome, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tullius, Marcus Varro, Strabo, Titus, Livius, Salustius, with many other learned men. He died peaceably the nine and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

18. Caratacus, Metellanus sister's sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 4005; in the year of Christ 35; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 365. He enjoying the great treasure and riches left by King Metellanus, exceeded all the kings in Albion in riches. Being wise and valiant, pacifying his realme from all uproar and rebellion, specially in the isles, and executing severe justice. The Britons at this

time rebelling against the Romans, sent their ambassadours to Caratacus, desiring support against the Romans, he first reproaching them for their wilfull refusal. The Scots offering them support, wisely counselling them to solicit the Normans, Picards, Barteners, and all them on the sea coast, to rebel against them, and to kill the souldiers, promising assistance of the kings of Albion with money and valiant warriours, both by sea and land. The Romans shortly after invading the Britons, in a dangerous battell vanquished them, and killed their King Claudius; and Vespasian coming into Briton, subdued them again, and passing into Orknay, subdued the same, and brought Ganus, king of Orknay, his wife and children, in his triumph to Rome. The Britons coming to York, made new insurrections, assisted by Caratacus, king of Scots, and Congestus, king of Picts; against whom Plancius, the Roman governour, and Aruiragus, then king of Britons, came with a great army. Caratacus being elected general, there followed a cruell and dangerous battell, with uncertaine victory, untill the night separated them on either parties. Plancius on the morrow seeing his great losse, specially of his horsemen, returned to London, and Caratacus returned to York. The next year Vespasian, with many legions of Romans, were sent into Briton. Aruiragus assisting with the rest of the Britons, conveened at York three score and five thousand chosen men. The confederate kings came with three score thousand valiant warriours. There

was a terrible and cruell battell. The Albions, (notwithstanding their great valiantnesse), were discomfited by the prudent government of Vespasian: the king of Picts killed, the whole Britons being killed except sixe hundred, with their king. Caratacus returned with a few number to Brigance. Vespasian winterèd in York, and in the spring besieged and wanne Camelon, wherein was found many rich monuments and jewels, with a precious crowne of gold, set about with many precious stones of divers colours, with a sword with hilts of gold, which Vespasian used in all his warres. Hee remaining in Camelon, Caratacus assembled a new armie, against whom Plancius was sent with a great armie: a cruell battell ensued. The victory at last succeeded to the Romans. The rest of the Scots (that escaped this sorrowfull battell), were fugitive to the mountains. King Caratacus being sore wounded, was brought with great difficulty to Dunstaffage. Vespasian sending his messengers to Caratacus, promising (if he would be obedient to the Roman empire), that he should remain in honour, and be reputed and holden as a friend to the senate and people of Rome: who answered, that the kingdom of Scotland was as free to him as the kingdom of Rome was to Cæsar. Vespasian returning to Rome, Caratacus assembling a new armie, the Romans encountering him with a great multitude, there followed a cruell and terrible battell, long with uncertain victory; at the last the Romans obtained victory. Caratacus returned to

Dunstaffage. Plancius dying at Camelon, Ostorius Scapula was sent by the emperor in his place, who, after sundrie rebellions of the Britons, conquered them, and came within the bounds of Scotland. Caratacus gathered a new armie of forty thousand valiant men: there ensued a dangerous and terrible battell, the victory succeeding at last to the Romans. Caratacus wife, his daughter, and brother, were taken, himself returning to Cartamunda, his step mother, queen of Scots, (in whom he trusted), but unworthily he was by her betrayed, and rendred to the Romans. King Caratacus was sent with his wife, daughter, and brother, to Rome, where he was greatly admired, and honourably of the emperor entertained, and remitted freely with his queen, daughter, and brother, to return home, restoring all his lands again. He remaining the rest of his dayes in good peace, died the twentieth year of his reign, and was buried at Dunstaffage.

19. Corbredus *primus*, succeeded his brother Caratacus in the year of the world 4025; in the year of Christ 55; after the reign 385: a wise king and good justicer. He convented his nobles, and took counsell of Venisius, the husband of Cartamunda, his step mother, queen of Scots, who by crafty slights had taken the aforesaid Venisius, her husband, and sundry of his friends, and detained them prisoners, purposing to render them *into* the Romans hands. The king impatient *thereof*, came and relieved them, commanding *her to* be buried quicke. After a cruell battell

betweene the Romans, the Scots, and the Picts, peace was concluded. The Romans shall possess the lands of Briton by them conquered, without invading of Scots or Picts; then after, by command of Nero, Veraneus was sent into Briton, who shortly died. Woada, sister to Corbredus, queen of Briton, sent to her brother, complaining of her misery and trouble, her daughters deflowred, herself shamefully beaten by unmercifull Romans. Corbredus moved herewith, renewed the band with the Picts, and they raising a great armie, killed all the Romans they might apprehend, and wanne in their journey Berwick, being then the most populous town of that region. In this time there came a people called Murrayes, out of Almaine, with their captaine Roderik, put forth and expelled out of their native land, being inhibited to land in France and Briton, arrived in Forth between Louthean and Fiffe. They were sworn enemies to the Romans, rejoycing greatly that they might have occasion to be revenged upon their enemies; requesting the confederate kings to suffer them to pass formost in support of their people; and (if it chanced the Romans to be vanquished), to grant them wives that they might increase under one blood with the Scots. These conditions were granted to the Murrayes. The confederate kings, with the Murrayes, went forwards, and joining with the valiant queen of Britons, Woada, who rejoycing of her brother King Corbredus and the king of Picts coming, after an *oration* and comfortable speech made by her,

proffering her, with five thousand ladies armed, to pass in the front of the battell, against the unmercifull and shamefull deflowrers of virgins and matrons, the cruell Romans. The confederate kings allowing her courage, past forwards. Cattus, the Roman governor, with arrayed armes, came to resist them. There followed a sharp battell; the horsemen of the Romans being vanquished, the rest were fugitive with Cattus, sore wounded, escaped, and returned into France. The Albions parted the spoyle and riches of this field among them, and killed the Romans in all parts where they might apprehend them. In all this battell were killed 70,000 Romans, and 30,000 Albions. Had not Swetonius, the Roman legat, come hastily into Briton, with two legions and ten thousand warriours of sundry nations, the Albions had been perpetually freed from the Romans. Woada the queen, hearing of the new army of the Romans, assembled a new and great army of Britons, Scots, Picts, and Murrayes. There followed a bloody and terrible battell. At last the Albions being vanquished, four score thousand killed, the Murrayes almost all killed, with their captaine Roderik. Woada killed herself, to escape the injury of the Romans. Her two daughters were taken and brought armed to Swetonius. The eldest daughter was married unto a noble Roman, named Marius, who after was, by command of Cæsar, made king of Britons. *Corbredus*, broken with this sorrowfull battell, *returned* with the rest of his armie into Scot-

land, and gave to the rest of the Murrayes (that escaped out of the field) all the lands betweene Spey and Innerness, which lands were called after them Murray land; for the old inhabitants being seditious and troublesome, were partly expelled. The Murrayes then were married unto Scottish virgins, and remained under one blood and friendship. Corbredus, the king, continued the rest of his dayes in peace, and died the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

20. Dardanus, nephew to Metellanus, succeeded, the year of the world 4042; the year of Christ 72; after the reign 402. He was well beloved of the people, being a lustie person, fair of visage and body. He appeared in the beginning to be a good king, but being within three years degenerat, became an odious tyrant, and would have traiterously caused to be slaine the two sonnes of Corbredus, remaining in the Isle of Man under discipline. This tyrant at last was killed in battell, and beheaded by his nobles the fourth year of his reign, without burial.

21. Corbredus *secundus*, surnamed Galdus, Corbredus *primus* sonne, succeeded, an excellent person, endued with sundrie vertues and high prerogatives, in the year of the world 4046; the year of Christ 76; after the beginning of the reign 406: a valiant and couragious king. He renewed many battells against the Romans, and was often victorious. At this time arrived in Forth a company of Almaines, named Usipians, banished out *of their native* land, for killing of a Roman cap

taine and his band. They were pleasantly received, and ordained certaine lands to be inhabited by them, beside the Murrayes, for they were of one blood. Agricola remaining in Briton eight yeares with his Romans, had sundrie victories against the Scots and Picts. Domitian, the emperor, envying Agricola's prosperous state in Briton, sent hastily letters for him; at whose coming to Rome, he was poysoned by command of the said Domitian. Guenus Tabellius was made governour of Briton. Dissention engendred amongst the Romans for the government. King Corbredus, surnamed Galdus, (being by his explorators) advertised hereof, came with a new army of Scots and Picts, against the Romans; and finally, their captaine, with many Romans, were killed. The Scots, with the Picts, followed the whole day, and killed them wheresoever they might apprehend them. The king assembling the Scots and Picts, parted the rich spoyle of their enemies amongst them, as they had deserved. Afterwards, the Scots and Picts pursued cruelly in all parts the Romans. The Romans conveening them, elected Chelius to be their governour. There followed a most dangerous battell; at last the Romans were vanquished, and pursued with continuall killing into Calidon wood. The confederate kings came with their armies into Brigance. The Romans having assembled themselves in most fearfull ordinance, a company of Britons, (sent by Marius, their king, in support of the Romans), came to the confederate kings. There followed

a terrible and bloody battell; the Romans being vanquished and compelled to retire to their tents, with great killing of them, defended their tents with great manhood, untill the night approached. The Scots were very careful and vigilant all night, and attended that their enemies should not escape; others were making engines to break down their tents and trenches. The Romans seeing so great preparation against them, and no way to escape the danger, sent their orators to the confederate kings, most humbly intreating peace, on what conditions pleased them. After long consultation, peace was granted. The Romans to passe and render all lands, forts, and munitions, pertaining to the Scots and Picts, with all their goods taken violently from them during the warres, and to remain their friends at all times. Afterwards, this most valiant king, Corbredus Galdus, came to Epiake, the principall citie then of Scotland. The rest of his dayes he continued in peace, exercising severe justice. He died peaceably the five and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

22. Lugthacus succeeded his father Corbredus Galdus, in the year of the world 4080; the year of Christ 110; after the reign 440; an odious and cruell tyrant, he was killed by his nobles the third year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

23. Mogallus, Corbredus *secundus* sister's son, succeeded the year of the world 4083; the year *of Christ* 113; after the reign 442. Hee was a

good king, and victorious in the beginning of his reign, governing his people with great justice, and obtained a great victory against Lucius and his Romans, by the assistance of the Picts, in Westmerland and Cumber; obtaining a rich spoyle of the Romans, which they parted by law of armes. Afterwards the king did degenerat into a cruell tyrant. In his time, Adrian the emperor came into Briton, and builded the wall of Adrian, dividing the Britons from the Scots and Picts: a great wall made of fewell, earth, and turves, from the mouth of Tyne, over against the Almaine seas, to the flood of Eske, at the Irish seas, four score miles in length. Hee was killed by his nobles for his tyrannie and odious life, the thirty six year of his reign, and was buried at Dunstaffage.

24. Conrus succeeded his father Mogallus, the year of the world 4119; the year of Christ 149; after the reign 479: a cruell tyrant, degraded and imprisoned by his nobles, (and Ardgadus, captaine of Ardgile, made governour; a good and severe justicer): hee died in prison the fourteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

25. Ethodius *primus*, Mogallus sister's sonne, succeeded the year of the world 4133; the year of Christ 163; after the reign 493. A good justicer, who holding sundrie battells against the Roman captaines, Victorine, Trebellius, and Pertinax, near the wall of Adrian, and ministring good justice, oppressing rebels, was traiterously killed by a harper, (whom he trusted), the thirty third year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage. This harper was most cruelly executed.

26. Satrael succeeded his brother Ethodius *primus*, the year of the world 4165; the year of Christ 195; after the reign 525; a cruell tyrant. Hee was slaine by one of his courtiers the fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

27. Donaldus *primus*, the first Christian king of Scotland, succeeded his brother Satrael in the year of the world 4169; in the year of Christ 199; from the beginning of the reign of Scotland 529. A good and religious king, (in his time, Severus the emperor came into Briton); after many incursions made by the Scots and Picts in abolishing the wall of Adrian; Antonius, Severus sonne, governed Briton, and builded and repaired the wall of Adrian strongly with towers. Severus dying, Antonius killing his brother Getus, was emperor. This king Donaldus coined gold and silver, and embraced the Christian faith. Hee died in peace the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

28. Ethodius *secundus*, Ethodius *primus* sonne, succeeded in the year of the world 4186; the year of Christ 216; after the reign 546. An unwise and base minded king. The realme was prudently governed by his nobles. He was killed by his guard, the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

29. Athirco succeeded his father Ethodius *secundus*, the year of the world 4201; the year of Christ 231; after the reign 561. A good prince in his beginning, afterwards being degenerat, and pur-

35. Fincormacus, father's brother's son to Crathilinthus, succeeded in the year of the world 4271; the year of Christ 301; after the reign 631; a godly valiant king. He was a worthy promoter of Christian religion in Scotland; at which time Traberus, a Roman captaine, with many legions sent by the Emperor Constantinus, into Briton, to repress Octavius, then king of Britons, who being expelled, fled into Scotland. Traberus assembling a great army against the king of Scots, and Octavius king of Britons, (whom the aforesaid king of Scots refused to render), being solicited friendly, and thereafter sharply and proudly menaced by the said Traberus, followed a cruell and dangerous battell: the Romans finally vanquished, and sixeteene thousand of the Romans killed, and fifeteene thousand Albions killed. Fincormacus and Octavius pursued until they came to York, where the two kings were pleasantly received by the nobles of Briton; Octavius restored to the crowne. Fincormacus, for his assistance, had perpetually confirmed with an oath, to him and his successors, the lands of Westmerland and Cumber, (which Carance had granted in his time to the Scots and Picts, for the assistance of him by King Crathilinthus against the Romans); king Fincormacus continued the rest of his dayes in peace with the Britons and Picts, and died the seven and fourtie year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage.

36. Romachus, brother's son to Crathilinthus, succeeded in the year of the world 4318; in the

year of Christ 348; after the reign 678; a cruell tyrant, killed and beheaded by his nobles the third year of his reign, in whose time Arrius began, and Ireland became Christians.

37. Anguseanus, Crathilinthus brother's son, succeeded in the year of the world 4321; in the year of Christ 351; after the reign 681; a good and valiant king. Nectanus, king of Picts, to revenge the killing of Romans, gathered an army against the Scots. There followed a sharp battell, the Scots being victorious, and many of the nobles of the Picts killed, their king fled unto Camelon, their principall citie. After that, the Picts renewed battell, and came to the wood of Calidon, where the king of Scots with a great army joyned battell, with great cruelty; both the kings were killed, and many of their nobles, the third year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage, without succession.

38. Fethelmachus, another brother's sonne of Crathilinthus, succeeded in the year of the world 4324; in the year of Christ 354; after the reign 684. He was a good and valiant king, and victorious against the Picts, and killed their king in battell. He was traiterously murthered in his owne chamber by two dissembling Picts and an harper, the third year of his reign, and was buried in Dunstaffage. The murtherers were apprehended and most cruelly tormented. At this time St. Andrew's church was builded by the king of Picts, at the request of St. Rewell.

39. Eugenius *primus*, Fincormacus sonne, suc-

ceeded in the year of the world 4327; in the year of Christ 357; after the reign 687. A valiant, just, and good king; he was killed in battell, his brother taken, and all his nobles killed, with fifty thousand of his army, by the cruelty of the Romans, Britons, and deceitful Picts, and the whole nation of Scots expelled a long time, the third year of his reign.

40. Fergusius *secundus*, Erthus sonne, sonne to Ethodius, Eugenius the first's brother, returning into Scotland, by support of Danes, Gothes, and his own countrie men, gathered unto him out of all parts, (where they were dispersed), conquered his realme of Scotland out of the Romans and Picts hands, beginning his reign in the year of the world 4374; in the year of Christ 404; from the beginning of the realme of Scotland 734. He was a wise, valiant, good, and godly king, being confederate with the Picts. He was sundry times victorious against the Romans; at the last he was killed in a battell by the Romans, the sixteenth year of his reign, and buried in Icolmkill.

41. Eugenius *secundus*, Fergusius *secundus* son, succeeded his father in the year of the world 4390; in the year of Christ 420; from the beginning of the reign of Scotland 750. He was a valiant and good king, in sundrie battells victorious against the Romans and Britons. At which time Maximian, the Roman governor of Briton, made insurrection against the Romans, and cruelly invaded *the land then* called Armorica, and killed the *most part of* the people there, that it should not

be a prey to Frenchmen, their neighbours. Hee brought out of Briton a great multitude of people to inhabit the same. Some authors write there came an hundred thousand men out of Briton with Conanus, who was made king of that land, and called the same land Briton, or Little Briton, after the Britons that came to inhabit there. Then after they sent into Briton for women to be their wives; at whose request Ursula, (called St. Ursula), with 11,000 virgins, were imbarked to pass to Briton: they all by contrarie and tempestuous winds, were compelled to arrive in the low countries, journeying by land to Briton, and were all lamentably murthered and killed, because they would not suffer deflowring of their bodies, but rather offered themselves to be cruelly and unmercifully murthered and killed. After this unhappy and cruell murther, other women and virgins were sent in great number into Briton, who inhabit that land continually to this day. Briton being desolate of Roman support, was occasion that the confederate kings invaded them so hardly; for the valiant Graham, (whose father was expelled out of Scotland with Ethodius, brother to King Eugenius the first, killed in battell, as afore is rehearsed, married with a noble lady of Denmark, who was mother to the aforesaid Graham), which Graham married a virgin of the blood royal of Denmark, to whom she bare a daughter of excellent beauty, who was married to Fergusius the second, king of Scots; of him descended the ancient surname of Graham. Hee

was a great enemie to the Romans, for he destroyed to the ground the wall of Abircorne, called them after Graham's Dikes, and past and all utterly abolished the wall of Adrian over against the Irish seas. The confederate kings, accompanied with valiant Graham, past with fire and sword through all the bounds betweene Tyne and Humber. There followed a most dangerous battell, in the which were killed fifteen thousand Britons, with the most of the princes and nobles of Briton, and four thousand Scots; and the whole Romans being expelled out of Briton by the confederate kings, and peace being concluded betweene the confederate kings and the Britons, all the lands lying beyond Humber shall remain perpetually under the empire of the confederate kings, and presently to be paid three score thousand pound to their men of warre, and twentie thousand pound yearly to the two confederate kings: and for observing hereof, the Britons delivered one hundred pledges, being within age of thirty yeares, at the will and pleasure of the confederate kings. In the seventh year of the reign of Eugenius the second, king of Scots, Briton was wholly delivered and released from Roman tribute, 496 years after that Julius Cæsar began the first tribute. Eugenius increased in riches and policie, his realme with continuall peace. In the same time, the Britons falling at great diversitie betweene the nobles and commons, there were many of both parties miserably killed. He died in peace the one and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

42. Dongardus succeeded his brother Eugenius, the year of the world 4421; the year of Christ 451; after the reign 781. A godly, wise, and valiant king: in a dangerous and cruell battell betweene Constantine, now elected king of Briton, there were killed sixteene thousand Britons, and four thousand Scots and Picts. The victory falling to the confederates, the king of Scots, valiantly fighting, was killed, the fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill, which was the burial place for the kings, untill King Malcolm Canmor's dayes.

43. Constantinus *primus*, succeeded his brother Dongardus, the year of the world 4427; in the year of Christ 457; from the beginning of the reign 787. A vicious and odious king, killed by one of his nobles, whose daughter he had deflowred, the twentie second year of his unworthie reign.

44. Congallus the first, Dongardus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4449; the year of Christ 479; after the reign 809. A valiant king; he vanquished the Britons in a cruell and dangerous battell, wherein were killed 20,000 Britons, with many nobles, with Gwythell, Prince of Wales. Vortiger, usurping the crowne of Briton, sent into Almaine to hyre warriours against the confederate kings. At which time came into Briton, Hengist and Horsus, two brethren, with 10,000 Saxons. Immediately the Britons and Saxons past with arrayed battell to Humber, before the confederate kings were admonished of

their coming, killing in all parts without mercy where they came. The king of Picts assembled his armie, and joyned battell, (without support of the Scots), where he was vanquished by the Saxons and Britons. The Saxons, proud of this victory, and being resolved to conquer the kingdom of Briton, past further; against them came King Congallus, with a great armie, with the Picts: there followed a cruell battell, with uncertaine victory. At last the Britons (that fought in the right wing against the Scots), being vanquished, there chanced a mighty shower of hail, with great darkness. Hengist, by sound of trumpet, gathered his people to his standard. The Scots and Picts, (hoping their enemies to be vanquished), followed on the Britons without array. The Britons vanquished, and the confederate people without order killing and spoyling, Hengist came with his Saxons in arrayed battell, and killed all the confederates that might be overtaken. This battell was right sorrowfull to the confederate people, and not pleasant to their enemies, for the most part of the armie of Britons were killed. Hengist obtaining new support out of Saxony, the next summer came with Vortimer, King Vortigerus son, with a great armie: there followed a cruell and long battell, valiantly debated on all parts, with sundry chances, for many Scots and Britons being killed, and Congallus sore wounded, was brought out of the field. Long time then after, Ambrosius, (when he had vanquished Vortiger), and being crowned king of Briton, confederate with

the Scots and Picts, assisted by them, killed with his own hands Hengist, and expelled the rest of the Saxons. King Congallus (holding good peace with Britons and Picts, vexed with long infirmity), died peaceably the two and twentieth year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

45. Conranus succeeded his brother Congallus, the year of the world 4471; the year of Christ 501; after the reign 831. A good king and severe justicer. In his time arrived in Briton Occa and Passentius, sonnes of Hengist, with a great multitude of valiant souldiers, (assisted by the princes of Germanie), against whom came King Ambrosius. There followed a doubtfull and dangerous battell, the victory inclining to Ambrosius, yet very unpleasant, for at the same time, there were many Britons killed. Nevertheless, they parted the spoyle of Saxons by the right of armes. Occa being advertised of the coming of the confederate kings to assist Ambrosius, sent his brother Passentius to bring great support out of Germanie; by contrary windes hee arrived in Ireland, where he gathered a great number of hyred warriours, and returned into Briton. Occa perswaded one Coppa, a fayned physician, to poyson King Ambrosius. The confederate kings coming with a strong army to assist Ambrosius, were advertised of his death: therefore, they not knowing who was friend or foe, and being likewise uncertain how he died, they returned home. Arthurus being king of Britons, assisted by the *Scots and Picts*, obtained sundrie victories against

the Saxons. The confederate nobles abode certaine dayes in London; and being richly rewarded by King Arthurus, returned home. The realme of Scotland was governed in great felicitie and justice by King Conranus. Then after, certaine traitors, (assisted by Donald, captaine of Athole), murthered the king in his chamber, the thirty fourth year of his reign; in the sixteenth year of the reign of King Arthurus, and in the twentieth year of the Emperor Justinian, the year of Christ 535: he was buried at Icolmkill.

46. Eugenius *tertius*, Congallus the first's son, succeeded in the year of the world 4505; in the year of Christ 535; after the reign 865. A wise godly king, and good justicer: he continued in peace all his dayes, and died the twentie third year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

47. Congallus *secundus*, succeeded his brother Eugenius *tertius*, the year of the world 4528; the year of Christ 458; after the reign 888. A good, just, and godly prince; he instituted many godly lawes concerning churches and churchmen. He died in peace the eleventh year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill; in whose time was St. Colme and St. Mungo.

48. Kinnatillus succeeded his brother Congallus *secundus*, in the year of the world 4539; the year of Christ 569; after the reign 899. A good and godly king: hee died in peace the first year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

49. *Aidanus*, Conranus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4540; the year of Christ 570;

after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 900. Hee was a valiant and good king, and severe justicer; he confederated with the Britons against the Saxons and Picts. There followed sundrie battells; at last the Britons and Scots came into Northumberland against the Saxons and Picts, and vanquished them in a dangerous battell: the tenth part of the spoyle obtained in the field, was dedicated to the churches of Scotland; and the banners or ensigns gotten at that time, sent to Icolmkill. He died in peace the five and thirty year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

50. Kennethus *primus*, Congallus *secundus* son, succeeded in the year of the world 4575; the year of Christ 605; after the reign 935; a good and peaceable prince: he died the first year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

51. Eugenius *quartus*, Aidanus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4576; the year of Christ 606; after the reign 936. Hee was a godly and good justicer, and instituted many godly and good lawes for the commonwealth of his subjects. He reigned peaceably, and died in peace, the fifteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

52. Ferchardus *primus*, succeeded his father Eugenius *quartus*, the year of the world 4591; the year of Christ 621; after the reign 951. A vicious tyrant, degraded by his nobles, and imprisoned. He killed himself in prison the eleventh year of his reign.

53. Donaldus *quartus*, succeeded his father *Ferchardus*, the year of the world 4602; the year

of Christ 632; after the reign 962. A good and religious king, holding peace with his neighbours. He being at fishing with his servants for pastime, perished in Lochtay, the fourteenth year of his reign; his body being found, was buried in Icolmkill.

54. Ferchardus *secundus*, succeeded his brother Donaldus, in the year of the world 4616; in the year of Christ 646; after the reign 976: he was an avaricious tyrant, and was bitten by a wolfe in hunting, (whereof ensued a dangerous fever); being penitent of his evil life, died the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

55. Maluinus, Donaldus *quartus* son, succeeded in the year of the world 4634; in the year of Christ 664; after the reign 994. He was a godly and wise king, and a severe justicer, holding good peace with his neighbours. He was strangled by his wife in the night, on suspicion of adulterie, the twentieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill. On the morrow his wife was taken with her accomplices, and burned to death.

56. Eugenius *quintus*, Malduinus brother's son, succeeded in the year of the world 4654; in the year of Christ 684; after the reign 1014. Hee was a valiant and good king; he obtained a great victory against Edfreid, king of Northumberland, who was killed, with ten thousand Saxons; and Bredius, king of Picts, fled away. He died the fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

57. *Eugenius sextus*, Ferchardus secundus son,

succeeded in the year of the world 4658; in the year of Christ 688; after the reign 1018. Hee was a good, religious, and peaceable king. Hee died in peace the ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

58. Amberkelethus succeeded in the year of the world 4667; the year of Christ 697; after the reign 1027: an avaricious evil king; he was killed by a shot of an arrow, the second year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

59. Eugenius *septimus*, succeeded his brother Amberkelethus, in the year of the world 4669; in the year of Christ 699; after the reign 1029. A good king, contracting peace with the king of Picts, then called Garnard, who married his daughter Spontana: she being with child, in the next year, was murthered in her bed, instead of the king, by two brethren of Atholo, (who had conspired the king's death). The murtherers were at length apprehended, and cruelly put to death. He continued a religious and vertuous king, and he endowed sundrie churches liberally, holding good peace with his neighbours, and died in peace the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

60. Mordacus, son to Amberkelethus, succeeded in the year of the world 4685; in the year of Christ 715; after the reign 1045. An humble and liberal prince; he caused peace to be made in all Briton, amongst the Britons, Saxons, Scots, and Picts; he repaired many decayed churches, *and builded* Quhitthorne. In his time was St.

Beda. He died peaceably the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

61. Etfinus, Eugenius *septimus* son, succeeded in the year of the world 4700; in the year of Christ 730; after the reign 1060. A godly wise king, and a severe justicer, holding his realme in good peace, his people increasing in riches and religion; he being aged, elected four regents, viz. the Thanes of Ardgile, Athole, Galloway, and Murray, to do justice to his subjects, which was not observed. He died in peace the one and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried at Icolmkill.

62. Eugenius *octavus*, Mordacus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4731; in the year of Christ 761; after the reign 1091: A good king and severe justicer in the beginning, for he executed to death Donald the tyrant, Lord of the Isles, and the Earl of Galloway, for assenting to his vices; then after, he being degenerat unto all abominable vices, was killed by his nobles the third year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill; his familiars and servants assisting to his vicious life, were all hanged upon gibbets, to the great contentment of all his subjects.

63. Fergusius *tertius*, Etfinus son, succeeded in the year of the world 4734; in the year of Christ 764; after the reign 1094. He married Ethiolia, daughter to the king of Picts: he was a *letcherous* adulterer, and being admonished, *continued still in* whoredom: at last he was murthered *by his wife*, and sundrie of his familiar ser-

vants, who being therefore sharply accused, his queen hearing thereof, came into judgment and relieved those men. She confessed the fact, and immediately stabbed herself to the heart with a dagger, and died in presence of the whole people. The king was buried in Icolmkill, the third year of his reign.

64. Soluathius, Eugenius *octavus* son, succeeded in the year of the world 4737; in the year of Christ 767; after the reign 1097. A noble and valiant king; he married the king of Briton's daughter, who bare to him two sonnes and one daughter. He being troubled with the gout, governed his people by his captaines and commanders, severely executing justice, and subdued sundrie rebels, especially Banus, captaine of the Isle of Tyre, who assembled a great companie of rebels, and called himself king. He died peaceably of the gout the twentieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

65. Achaius, Etfinus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4757; in the year of Christ 787; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 1117. A good, godly, and peaceable king; he pacified insurrection both in Scotland and in Ireland, and contracted the band of amitie with Charles the Great, king of France, and emperor of Germany, which band hath continued inviolably observed unto this present time. He married the aforesaid Charles the Great's daughter, who bare to him three sonnes and one daughter. *The amitie* and confederation of Frenchmen and

Scots, was to be made for ever, both for the people present, and their successors: and for the corroboration of the said band, King Achaius sent his brother Guilliam, with sundrie nobles, into France, with foure thousand valiant warriours, to assist the foresaid Charles in his warres, in any part he pleased to passe against the enemies of the Christian faith, at which time the armes of the kings of Scotland, were the red lyon rampant in a field of gold; thereto was augmented a double tressour, with contrary lillies or flower-deluce, including the lyon on all parts. Guilliam, Achaius brother, assisting Charles in his warres with his valiant Scots, purchased great honour, and was so beloved and holden in great estimation among the princes of France, that he was called the knight without reproach, and purchased great riches and lands. He prospered greatly in all his warres, and vanquished sundrie nations rebelling against the emperor. He obtained great honours the time that King Charles restored Pope Leo the Third to his seat, after that he was put out of Rome by injurie of the Romans. He obtained great honours when Charles, passing thro' Tuskany, restored the city of Florance to its ancient honours, after it was destroyed by the Gothes. These, and many other honourable acts, were performed by Scottish Guilliam, howbeit they were done under the name of Charles the *Emperor,* for he remained not long in Italy, but *left the charge* to Guilliam, who did all things *with such* prudence, that he augmented the do-

minion of Florance greatly. The Florantines, in recompence of Guilliam's humanity towards them, ordained solemn playes to be made in the city, in which a lyon was crowned with sundrie ceremonies; they commanded also quick lyons to be yearely nourished upon the public purse, because the lyon was the arms of Scottish Guilliam. This is yet observed in perpetuall memory. Guilliam, after infinit travels taken with Charles the Great, for the defence of Christian faith, grew in age, and because he had no succession of his body, (for he was all his days given to chivalrie), he made Christ his heire, and founded many abbeys in Italy, Almaine, and Germanie, liberally distributing unto them rich rents and lands, and ordained that Scottishmen onely should be abbots to the same abbeys. In witness hereof, are many abbeys in Almaine and Germanie, nothing changed from the first institution. At the coming first of Scottish Guilliam, there came two learned clerks with him from Scotland, holden in great honour by the emperor for their singular learning; they obtained a place in Paris, which was given to them with certain lands to sustain their estate, and to instruct the noblemen's children of France in sundrie sciences. To these men came such confluence of people out of all parts desiring learning, that in short time, by their exact diligence in erudition of young children, the citie of Paris was made a solemn universitie of resolute men in all sciences. The Emperor Charles having great delectation *that learning* began to flourish in his realme, by

the great industrie of those two Scottishmen, commanded that Clement should remain as principal regent of Paris, and John his colleague to passe to Pauy, a town of Lombardy, for increasing of learning there. This small beginning was the original of the famous university of Paris. King Achaius, continuing in peace, the Roman empire was divided, for the Emperor Charles being the first emperor of Germanie, was emperor of the west, and Constantine emperor of the east. Achaius married Fergusian, sister to Hungus, king of the Picts, who bare to him one sonne, called Alpine, who after succeeded to be king of Scotland, and right inheritor to the king of Picts. King Achaius being aged, died in peace the two and thirtieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

66. Congallus, Achaius father's brother's son, began his reign in the year of the world 4789; in the year of Christ 819; after the reign 1149; a good and peaceable king. Hee died in peace the fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

67. Dongallus, Salvatius son, began his reign in the year of the world 4794; the year of Christ 824; after the reign 1154. A valiant and good king, sending his ambassadours to the Picts, after the death of Dorstologus, their king, killed by his brother Eganus, who married his brother's wife Brenna, daughter to the king of Marches, who *after murthered* the said Eganus in his bed, (not*withstanding* his guard), to revenge the murther *of her first* husband. The Scots ambassadours at

command, and in the name of Alpinus, King Achaius sonne, begotten betwixt him and Fergusian, sister to Hungus, late king of Picts, (the two brethren aforesaid being murthered, without succession), the right and title of the crowne of Picts succeeded by the law of God and man, to the aforesaid Alpinus. Therefore, desiring the Picts to accept him as their natural prince, both of Scotland and Pictsland, which they refused, and elected Feredech to be their king, the Scots ambassadours denounced battell to the Picts. King Dongallus preparing a great army to pass against the Picts, unfortunately perished in a boat as he was passing over the water of Spey, being in the seventh year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

68. Alpinus, Achaius son, began his reign in the year of the world 4801; in the year of Christ 831; after the reign 1161. A valiant and good king, being right heire to the crowne of Picts, in a dangerous and cruell battell killed Feredech their king. Then after, the Picts elected Brudus, his son, king, who was killed the first year of his reign, by sedition amongst the Picts. His brother Kenneth was made king, who coming with an army against the Scots, rent off his coat armour, and fled to the mountaines, where he was shamefully killed by a countryman, (not knowing who he was). The Picts immediately elected a fierce and valiant prince, Brudus, to be their king, who directed ambassadours to Alpinus, desiring peace, all matters to be redressed, and the old

band to be renewed. King Alpinus answered, that he would make no peace untill the crowne of Picts were delivered unto him as rightful inheritor. Brudus raised a great army, and came over the bridge of Dunkel to Angus. The night afore the battell, he caused all the carriage-men, and women, (that came with his army), to stand in arrayed battell, with linnen shirts above their cloaths, with such weapons and armour as they might furnish for the time. This done, he ordained an hundred horsemen to govern them, without any noise or din, in the next wood, commanding none of them to come in sight untill the battells were joyned. King Alpinus was at this time in a castle, which was situat on a hill, not far from Dundee, and beheld the armie of Picts marching forwards: incontinent he arrayed his Scots, then the battells joyned with great slaughter on all parts. Immediately the carriage-men, and women, afore rehearsed, came moving forwards upon the back of the Scots, who believing that a fresh armie of Picts were to come against them (not looked for), at last the Scots fled; for this hidden slight before rehearsed, was the discomfiture of the Scots army. The Picts followed with cruell killing of all they might overtake. In this battell was King Alpinus taken and beheaded. The place where he was beheaded is called Pas-Alpin, that is, the head of Alpin; his body was buried at Icolmkill, the third year of his reign. After this great victory obtained against the Scots, Brudus, king of the Picts, returned to

Camelon, and convocated a counsell, making their oaths never to desist from battell untill they had utterly destroyed the Scots, and made a statute, what ever hee was that laboured to have peace with the Scots, hee should be beheaded. Some of the wise Picts not allowing their oathes and statutes, counselled to use victorie with measure, who were exiled, and came into Scotland.

69. Kennethus *secundus*, (surnamed the Great), succeeded his father Alpine in the year of the world 4804; in the year of Christ 834; after the beginning of the realme of Scotland 1164. A good and valiant king, he married the Lord of the Isles daughter, who bare to him three sonnes. The Picts coming against the Scots, they contended amongst themselves for a thing of nought: thus was their armie divided, and many slaine, untill night severed them. King Brudus could not pacifie them, therefore hee with the rest of his army passed home, and he shortly after died for displeasure. Donsken his brother, was elected king, and redressed all injuries that he might. Three yeares continued sundry incursions on both parts. King Kenneth settled his wits to defend his realme, putting strong souldiers in all forts adjoining to the borders of the Picts, and commanded his people to be daylie exercised in chivalrie, to be ready against every trouble that might occur. In the fourth yeare, King Kenneth made a convention of his nobles, consulting how hee might revenge his father's slaughter, and obtaine the crown of Picts, (rightfully appertaining unto

him). The season of the year being expedient to raise their army, the nobles not consenting thereunto, for the great slaughter lately made on their king and nobles, therefore the king convented all his nobles, perswading them that he had great matters to propound. By solemn banquet within his palace, he royally entertained them untill dark night; after, they were brought to severall chambers within the palace, and when they were in profound sleep, the king caused sundrie men to passe to every severall bed, (where the nobles did lye), clad with fish skines, having in their hands a clubbe of muscane tree, which, with the fish skines in the dark, did shew a marvailous glaunce and light all at one time, each one holding in the other hand a bugle horn, and speaking thro' the horne, (appearing to be no mortall man's voyce), did shew they were angels sent by God to the princes and nobles of Scotland, to cause them to obey the desire of the king, for his desire was so just and right, that the Picts, for repulse thereof, should be brought to such extermination, that no puissance nor wisdome of man could resist: their speeches ended, they obscured their clubs and skines under their cloathes, their lights vanishing at one time. The nobles seeing this uncouth vision, were astonished, and tooke little rest that night; on the morrow at their convention, each one declaring their vision, (all being at *one* time), concluded firmely the same to be no *fantasie, but* a heavenly vision, assuring them of *victorie and* felicitie; revealing the same to the

king, who assured them that the same vision appeared to him the same hour, (howbeit he would not first reveal it, lest his nobles should esteem him glorious). By general statute, all able persons were commanded, sufficiently prepared, to meet the king on an appointed day. In two battells the king being victorious against the Picts, to their utter extermination, King Donsken and all his nobles being killed, his sword and coat of armour were sent to Icolmkill in perpetuall memorie. The city of Camelon, after long assault, was utterly destroyed, and the Picts, men, women, and children, killed, after they had reigned in Albion 1181 yeares. King Kenneth instituted many good lawes, and brought the fatall chayre from Ardgile to Scone, adding the realme of Picts to his dominion. This victorious king died the twentieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

70. Donaldus *quintus*, Kennethus *secundus* brother, began his reign in the year of the world 4824; in the year of Christ 854; after the reign 1184. A vicious and odious king, his people made effeminate by his vices and sensuall pleasures; his nobles admonished him to reform his evil life, he continued still without reformation. The Picts that fled amongst the Englishmen, requested Osbred and Ella, two great princes of England, to move warres against the Scots. These two princes, with Englishmen, Britons, and Picts, came into the warres, where King Donaldus *vanquished* them in a great battell at Jedburgh.

Donald, right insolent after this victorie, came to the water of Tweed with his armie, and found two ships laden with wines and victuals, which were taken and parted amongst his warriours. King Donald was given to such voracity and lust of his wombe, (the whole camp using the same), and being full of tavernes, brothels, and whores, followed dicing and carding, with contention, killing one another. King Osbred being advertised hereof, preparing a new army, came suddenly on the Scots, and killed twenty thousand, being without armour, full of wine and sleep. And King Donald was taken in manner aforesaid, and led through the countrie in derision to all people. At which time King Osbred conquered great lands in Scotland, assisted by Britons, so that Strivling bridge was made marches to Scots, Britons, and Englishmen. King Osbred coined money in the castle of Strivling, (by whom the Striviling money had first beginning). King Donald being ransomed, returned into Scotland, continuing in his vicious and abominable life. He was taken by his nobles and imprisoned, where he desperately killed himself, the fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

71. Constantinus *secundus*, Kennethus *secundus* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4829; in the year of Christ 859; after the reign 1189. A valiant king, he married the Prince of Wales his daughter; she bare to him two sons *and one daughter*. Hee instituted sundrie good *lawes for churchmen*, and repressed all vicious

vices engendered amongst his subjects by Donald the tyrant, his predecessor. In whose time Hungar and Hubba, with a great fleete of Danes, landing in Fiffe, used great crueltie. A great number of religious persons being fled into the Isle of May, with Adrian their bishop, were all cruelly tormented and killed by the unmerciful Danes. Constantine came with a great army against Hubba, and vanquished him. The Scots being proud of this victory, and neglecting themselves, there followed a cruell and desperate battell; at last the Scots were vanquished, and King Constantine, with his nobles, and ten thousand of his army killed, the fifteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

72. Ethus, surnamed the Swift, Constantinus *secundus* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4844; in the year of Christ 874; after the reign 1204. A luxurious prince, taken by his nobles and imprisoned, where he died the third day of melancholy, the second year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

73. Gregorius *magnus*, Dongallus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4846; the year of Christ 876; after the beginning of the reign of Scotland 1206. Hee was but two monthes old when his father perished in the water of Spey. A valiant and greatly renowned prince in all parts; he instituted good lawes for his subjects, and being very religious, ordained good lawes for churches and churchmen; and that all kings, his *successors*, at their coronation, should make their

oath to defend the Christian religion. Hee obtained a great victory against the Danes and Britons; and recovering all his lands lost in King Donald's time, enlarged his bounds with Northumberland, Cumber, and Westmerland; and being confederate with Alurede, king of England, the aforesaid lands should remain perpetually to be possessed by the Scots. Then after, the king to repress Irishmen that were come into Scotland, who had robbed the people, and made sundry incursions, he followed with a great army, and landing in Ireland, vanquished Brennius and Cornelius, two princes of Ireland, with the whole nobles of Ireland, and vanquished sundry towns, and besieged Dublin with a strong siege, where their young prince Duncan was, to whom the crowne of Ireland appertained. At last the towne was rendred, (and the king made protector during the prince's minority), with all the forts, and three score pledges. The king returning with his victorious army, and the pledges of the nobles of Ireland: holding good peace the rest of his days, and died in peace the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill. He builded the city of Aberdene.

74. Donaldus *sextus*, son to Constantinus *secundus*, began his reign in the year of the world 4864; in the year of Christ 894; after the reign 1234. A valiant prince and godly; he punished with *great* severitie the blasphemers of the name of *God: he married* the king of Briton's daughter, *who bare to* him one son and a daughter. At

this time Rowland, king of Denmark, gathered or conveened a great multitude of Danes out of England, Norway, Swedricke, and Denmark, and past through France, committing great crueltie upon the people there. And because Charles the Great, then emperor, was implicat with frequent warres in Italy against the Sarazens, the Danes raged with such open crueltie, that great bounds of France appeared to become under their dominion. The Emperor Charles, after his return from Italy, came with a great armie to resist the Danes, and they (nothing afraid), went forward to meet him in their awful manner. The princes of France, knowing the great ferocity of the Danes, proved and exercised in all parts where they were assayled, and seeing them by frequent victorie so insolent, that but by great slaughter they might not be vanquished, perswaded the Emperor Charles to make peace with the said Rowland, that their realme should not be in jeopardy, or put to extream danger, through the warres both in Italy and France. Peace was corroborat and contracted with the Danes on this manner: The Emperor Charles his daughter should be given in marriage to Rowland, and hee, with all the Danes, should receive the Christian faith; and in the name of dowry, should have all the lands which were named Newstria, lying betwixt Deip, Picardy, Paris, and Bartany. These lands were then after Rowland called Normandy. Rowland made king of Normandy, by receipt of baptisme, was named Robert, and ordained to pay for the said lands one

yearely tribute to the aforesaid Charles and his posteritie, to signifie that the said lands were not conquered, but only given from the crowne of France in marriage. The year that the Normans began to reign in Normandy, was from the incarnation of Christ, 886 yeares. The valiant deeds done by the Danes, in sundrie parts of the world, was in great admiration to all people. Rowland, called Robert, begat on the Emperor Charles his daughter, William, who succeeded after his father: to William succeeded Richard the first: to him succeeded Richard the second, who had two sons, Robert and Gustard: Robert begat William the bastard, Duke of Normandy, who conquered England, and vanquished both Englishmen and Danes, and possesst the crowne thereof: and Gustard past into Italy, and made many cruell invasions in Cicill, Calabre, and Naples. In this time the Murrayes and Rosses invading each other with cruell killing, 2000 men were killed on either parties; the king came upon them with a great army, and punished the principal movers of this trouble to death. He died in peace the eleventh year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

75. Constantinus *tertius*, Ethus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4875; in the year of Christ 905; after the reign 1245. A valiant prince, not fortunat in warres; he married the Prince of Wales his daughter, who bare to him *one son*: being vexed with warres in the time of *King Edward*, and Athelstane his bastard son, he *became a chanon* in Saint Andrews, and died the

fortieth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

76. Milcolumbus *primus*, Donaldus *sextus* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4913; in the year of Christ 943; after the reign 1283. A valiant prince and good justicer; hee married the Lord of Twylth's daughter, who bare to him two sons and one daughter. A confederacy was made between England and Scotland, that Cumber and Westmerland should be perpetually annexed to the prince of Scotland reigning for the time, to be holden in fee of the kings of England. By vertue whereof, Indulfus, son to Constantine the third, (as prince of Scotland), tooke possession both of Cumber and Westmerland. The king passed the rest of his dayes in peace and severe justice, which caused a conspiracy in Murray-land, where this noble king was trayterously killed the ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill. The murtherers and their assistants all apprehended, were cruelly tormented and put to death.

77. Indulfus, Constantinus *tertius* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4922; in the year of Christ 952; after the reign 1282. A noble and valiant prince; he vanquished in battell Hagon, prince of Norway, and Helrick, prince of Denmark, and was killed by a stratagem of warre the ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

78. Duffus, Milcolumbus *primus* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4931; the year of

Christ 961; after the reign 1291: a good prince and severe justicer. Hee was traiterously murthered by one Donald, captaine of Forres, and his wife, and buried under a bridge at Kinlus, the sun nor moone not shining in six monthes after. The murtherers being apprehended, were severely executed and put to death, the fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

79. Culenus, Indulfus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4936; the year of Christ 966; after the reign 1296. He was married to the king of Briton's daughter, a vicious prince; he was killed by Rodardus, a nobleman, at Meffen, whose daughter he had deflowred, the fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

80. Kennethus *tertius*, Duffus brother, began his reign in the year of the world 4940; in the year of Christ 970; after the reign 1300. A valiant and wise prince, and severe justicer; for one time he caused 500 notable thieves to be hanged on gibbets, and inhibited their bodies to be taken down, beside the castle of Bertha, to give example to others. The Danes with a great fleet of shipes, arrived at the mouth of Tay, and destroyed the town of Mountrose, killing all the people, and demolishing the walles, wasting the whole country, and coming through Angus with great crueltie, laying a strong siege to the castle of Bertha. The king came with a great armie, there followed a dangerous and cruell battell, with uncertaine victory, valiantly defended on both sides. At last one Haye, with his two sons, enforcing

the Scots that were fled, to return, and by their valiant courage renewed battell; the Danes were vanquished, and fled, the most part of them being slaine. The king enriched Haye and his sons, giving them a great part of the spoyle of the Danes, with as much land as a falcon off a man's hand flew over, untill she lighted at a place called the falcon's stone. So he obtained the whole lands betweene Tay and Arrole, six miles of length, and four of breadth. This was the beginning of the noble and ancient surname of Hayes, decorate with great honours, riches, and lands, valiant defenders of the realme of Scotland. This noble king, (so long decorate with justice), the blind and immoderate affection that he had to his son, was occasion that he killed by poyson Malcolme, prince of Scotland, and lord of Cumber and Westmerland. Hee abrogated the old lawes concerning the kings, and instituted new, viz. the king being deceased, his eldest son or nephew, notwithstanding what age soever he were of, and though he were borne after his father's death, should succeed to the crowne. The nephew by the king's son should be preferred before the nephew by the king's daughter, and the nephew gotten by the king's brother, should be preferred before the nephew gotten on his sister. These lawes to be observed amongst all other nobles in succession of their heritage. When the king is young, one nobleman of great prudence and authority shall be chosen governour of the *realme, untill* the king come to the age of four-

teen yeares, and then the king to governe his realme by his own authoritie. All other inheritors shall succeed to their father's heritage, after the expiration of one and twentie yeares, and within that time they shall be governed by curators or guardians, and untill those yeares be outrun, they shall not be admitted to claime their heritage. Hee proclaimed his sonne Malcolme prince of Scotland, and lord of Cumber and Westmerland. Once when the king was lying in his bed, he heard a voice saying, O Kenneth, believe not that the cursed killing of Prince Malcolme is hid from God: O thou unhappy tyrant, which (for desire of the crowne), hast killed an innocent, invading thy neighbour with treasonable murther, which thou wouldst have punished with most rigour, if it had beene done by any other person than thy selfe; therefore thou hast incurred such hatred of God, that thou and thy son shall be suddenly killed, for thy nobles are conspired against thee. The king was greatly afraid of this voice, and being very penitent, confessed his offence to a bishop, who comforting him, he did sundrie good workes appertaining to a Christian prince. At the last, King Kenneth coming to the castle of Fethercairn, was (as appeared) thankfully received by Fenella, lady thereof, where, in the middle of the castle, most curiously wrought, the same being apparelled with tapestries of gold and silke, overlayed or thicked with copper, was an image of brasse, made to the similitude of the king, with a golden apple in his

hand. The king perceiving the same, (suspecting no treason), counselled by the said lady, being alone in the tower, tooke the apple with violence out of the hand of the image. Immediately the titups of the crossbowes, which the said image had in his hand, were thrown up, (being made with such engine), and one of them shot the king through the body. The lady fled. There he died the twentie fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

81. Constantinus *quartus*, surnamed Caluus, Culenus son, began to reign (usurping the crown) in the year of the world 4964; in the year of Christ 994; after the reign 1324. He was killed in battell at the town of Crawmond, in Louthian, the second year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

82. Grimus, Duffus son, began his reign in the year of the world 4966; in the year of Christ 996; after the reign 1326. A vicious usurper of the crowne, killed in battell by Malcolme his successor, the eight year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

83. Milcolumbus *secundus*, Kennethus *tertius* son, began his reign in the year of the world 4974; in the year of Christ 1004; after the reign 1334. A valiant and wise king; he was often victorious against the Danes. In his time began the noble and ancient name of Keith, whose house is decorated with great honours, being marshal of Scotland. The king repaired and enlarged the citie *of Aberdene*, then called Murthlacke. Hee was

killed by a conspiracie of some of his nobles in the castle of Glammess, the thirtieth year of his reign, having married the Duke of Normandy's daughter, who bare to him three sonnes and two daughters; and he was buried in Icolmkill. The murtherers fled in the night, and chanced into the loch or poole of Forfar, being frozen over, covered with snow, and were all drowned therein, by the righteous judgement of God.

84. Duncanus *primus*, Malcolme *secundus* daughter Beatrix her son, began to reign in the year of the world 5004: in the year of Christ 1034; after the reign 1364. A good and modest prince. In his time was Thane, or Earl of Lochquhaber, Banquho. Of whom are descended the ancient and royal name of Stewarts. He was traiterously killed by Macbeth, the sixth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

85. Macbethus, (Dowoda, Malcolme *secundus* daughter's son), began to reign in the year of the world 5010; in the year of Christ 1040; after the reign 1370. In the beginning he was a valiant prince and severe justicer, instituting many good lawes; at last, by illusion of witches and sorcerers, he became a cruell tyrant and oppressor, and being vanquished by his successor, King Malcolme Canmore, was killed by Macduff, Thane or Earl of Fiffe, the seventeenth year of his reign, and was buried in Icolmkill.

86. Milcolumbus *tertius*, surnamed Canmore, *Duncan primus* son, began to reign in the year of *the world 5027*; in the year of Christ 1057; after

the reign 1387. He was a religious and valiant king, he rewarded his nobles with great lands and offices, and commanded that the lands and offices should be called after their names. Hee created many earles, lords, barons, and knights. They that were called thanes, as Fiffe, Menteith, Athole, Lennox, Murray, Caithnes, Ros, Angusse, were made earles; many new surnames began at that time, as Calder, Lockart, Gordoun, Seytonne, Lawder, Kennethy, Wavane, Meldrome, Schaw, Liermond, Liberton, Strachquhan, Cargil, Rettray, Dondas, Cockburn, Mertoun, Menzies, Abercrummie, Lesly. Names of offices, steward, durward, bannerman. At this time William, Duke of Normandy, conquered England, holding battell with King Harold, and killed him in the year of Christ 1066. Edgar, within age, rightful heir of England, seeing the crowne conquered, was desperate to succeed any way to the government. To eschew all apparent danger, he took shipping with purpose to return with his mother and sisters in Ungerland: by contrary winds, he arrived in Forth, in a part called the Queenes Ferry. King Malcolme was at that time in Dumfermling, who came and tenderly received the said Edgar, with his mother and sisters, and married Margaret, eldest sister to the said Edgar. William the Conqueror hearing of his marriage, expelled all the friends of the said Edgar; wherefore there came into Scotland many people to King Malcolme, whom he received, and gave them lands; as these surnames, Lyndesay,

Vaus, Ramsay, Lowvell, Towres, Preston, Sandelands, Bissart, Sowles, Wardlaw, Maxwell. And sundry surnames came out of Ungerland to Queen Margaret, as Creichton, Fotheringham, Giffard, Melwill, Borthuike. Out of France came into Scotland, Fraser, Sinclair, Boswell, Moutray, Montgomerie, Cambell, Boyes, Beton, Taylifer, and Bothwell. In King Malcolme's time was the rederosse erected, with the king of England's image on the one side, and the king of Scotland's on the other. This stone crosse was a march, or mark, betweene the two realmes, standing in the middle of Stan-moore. At this time Walter, sonne to Fleance, begotten on the Prince of Wales daughter, came into Scotland, being thankfully received of King Malcolme, who shortly thereafter subdued sundry rebels, with the rebels of the Isles; for which diligence and valiant high vassalage, the said Walter was by the king created high steward of Scotland; which name, the ancient and royal name of Stewarts, hath enjoyed to this day. Thereafter, a new rebellion began in the north, where the king and his army coming to the water of Spey, perceiving his standard-bearer to shrink, and not to shew a cheerful countenance, he pulled the banner from him, and gave it to Sir Alexander Carron, who by his new office, obtained faire landes. The king caused to be repaired the bishop sees of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, and Murthlake, now Aberdene, and erected the bishop sees of Murray and Caithnes. He caused to be built from the ground the church and abbey

of Durham, and the church and abbey of Dunfermling, ordaining from thenceforth the same to be the sepulture of the kings. He abrogated that wicked law made by King Evenus *tertius*, ordaining half a marke to redeeme a woman's chastitie, called mersets of women. Queen Margaret, foresaid daughter to Edward, surnamed the Outlaw, sonne to Edward Ironside, a very religious queen, after called St. Margaret, bare unto King Malcolme six sonnes, Edward the prince, Edmund, Etheldred, Edgar, Alexander, and David, and two daughters, Matilda, or Mawde, surnamed Bona, wife to Henry the Fourth, surnamed Beauclerke, king of England, of whose vertues are extant an epigram:

Prosperitie rejoyced her not, to her griefe was no payne,
Prosperitie affrayde her als, affliction was her gayne.
Her beautie was no cause of fall, in royall state nor pryde,
Humble alone in dignitie, in beautie onely good.

She founded the church of Carleil. The other daughter was married to Eustatius, Earle of Bolloigne. King Malcolme was killed at the siege of Anwik, by one Robert Mowbray, who unarmed, upon a light horse, came out of the castle of Anwik, with a launce in his hand, the keyes of the castle upon the point of the launce. King Malcolme looking earnestly thereunto, the aforesaid Robert Mowbray ran the king through the left eye, and ran hastily into the next wood. Ki

William the Conqueror changed the name of this valiant knight, calling him Percey, of whom are descended the earls of Northumberland. King Malcolme died the thirty sixth year of his reign, and his son, Prince Edward, and both were buried in Dunfermling.

87. Donaldus *septimus*, Malcolme Canmore his brother, surnamed Bane, (usurped the crowne), and began to reign in the year of the world 5063; in the year of Christ 1093; after the reign 1423. He was expelled by Duncan, bastard son of the foresaid Malcolme, the first year of his reign.

88. Duncanus *secundus*, bastard aforesaid, (usurping the crowne) was killed by Mak-pender, thane of Mernis, by procurement of Donald the seventh, who was afterwards crowned. Hee gave the north and west isles to the King of Norway, to have his assistance to recover the crowne; hee was taken captive by his nobles, and his eyes put out; hee dyed miserably in prison, the third yeare of his second reign, and was buried in Dunfermling.

89. Edgarus, Malcolme Canmore's sonne, began to reign in the yeare of the world 5068; in the yeare of Christ 1098; after the reign 1428; a good and religious king, the first anoynted king. He builded the Priory of Coldingham, and dyed peaceably the ninth yeare of his reign, and was buried at Dunfermling, without succession.

90. Alexander the first, surnamed the Fierce, succeeded his brother, in the yeare of the world

5077; in the yeare of Christ 1098; after the reign 1437; a good and valiant king. Hee builded the castle of Baledgar, to represse theeves. Certaine traytors, entering the king's chamber, by convoy of the chamberlaine, through a privie, in purpose to have killed the king in his bed, by God's providence the king started out of his bed, and caught a sword in his hand, and first killed his chamberlaine, and by singular manhood six of the other traytors. The rest fled, and being sharply pursued, certaine of them were taken, and being hardly examined, confessed that sundrie noblemen were conspired against the king, who raising a great army, pursued the traytors, and sent Sir Alexander Carron, with a chosen number of the armie, who, in the king's presence, with a crooked sword, fought valiantly, and killed many of the rebels. The king changed his name, calling him Scrimgeour, that is, a hardy fighter, rewarding him with many lands, of whom are descended the noble name of Scrimgeours, his armes being encreased with a rampant lyon, holding a crooked sword. Hee builded the Abbeyes of Scone and Saint Colme's Inch. Hee married Sibilla, daughter to William, duke of Normandy, the seventeenth year of his reign. He died in peace, and was buried in Dumfermling.

91. David *primus*, called St. David, King Malcolme the third's youngest sonne, began his reign in the year of the world 5094; the year of *Christ 1124*; after the beginning of the reign of

Scotland 1454; a good, valiant, and very religious king. Hee builded many abbeyes, as Holyrood-house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Newbottel, Holmcultrane, Dundranane, Cambuskennеth, Kinlosse, Dumfermling, Holme in Cumber; two nunneries, one at Carleil, the other at North-Berwick. Hee founded two abbeyes besides Newcastle, the one of St Benedict's order, the other of white Monkes. Hee founded four bishopricks, Ros, Breichin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, ordaining them great lands, rents, and possessions, all out of the patrimonie of the crowne. King David of Scotland, in his time, possessed Northumberland, Cumber, Huntington, and Westmerland. He married the inheritrix of the aforesaid lands, called Maude, daughter to the earle of Northumberland and Juditha, daughter's daughter to William the Conqueror, King of England. In the time of King Stephen of England, hee repaired the town of Carleil with new walles. His son, Prince Henry, died with great lamentation of the whole realme, having three sons and three daughters. King David caused Malcolme, (eldest sonne unto Prince Henry, late deceased) to be declared Prince of Scotland. After that he past into Northumberland, and made William, his second nephew, earle thereof. After hee went to Carleil, where he made Henry (the empresse sonne, prince of England) knight, taking oath hee should never take Northumber*land, Cumber,* Westmerland, and Huntington, *from the* empire of Scotland. Queene Mawde

deceased in flourishing age, a woman of exceeding chastitie and beauty; she was buried in Scone, in anno 1132. King David took such griefe for her death, that he would not marrie again, nor accompany with any woman, but gave himself wholly to charity, and relieving of poor people. He purged his court from all vices, so that his whole family were given to exercise of virtue; no riotous banqueting, nor surfeiting cheare, nor lascivious words, nor wanton songs were suffered, (to provoke sensual lust); all their words and works tending to good and godly uses, nothing moving to strife, but all things ordered peaceably, with brotherly love, after the example of their king. Afterwards this victorious and religious King David died in peace, being greatly honoured and beloved of his subjects and neighbours, the twenty-ninth year of his reign; hee died in Carleil, and was buried in Dumfermling. King James the first, visiting his tombe, called him a sore saint to the crowne.

92. Milcolumbus *quartus*, sirnamed the Mayden, nephew to King David, began his reign in the year of the world 5123; in the year of Christ 1158; after the reign 1483; a good and milde prince, and severe justiciar, repressing many rebels. He killed and put forth all the Murrayes out of Murrayland. He founded the Abbey of St Andrews magnificently. He builded Cowper Abbey in Anguisse, and subdued sundrie rebellions; he died at Jedburgh, the twelfth year of *his reign*, and was buried in Dumfermling.

93. Guilielmus, sirnamed the Lyon, succeeded his brother Malcolme, in the year of the world 5135; in the year of Christ 1165; after the reign 1495; a good and valiant king, unfortunate. Hee married Emigerda, daughter to the earle of Bewmont, who bare to him two sonnes and two daughters. He builded the Abbey of Abirbrothok; she builded the Abbey of Bamerinoch; at the same time the Abbey of Haddington was founded by the king's mother. And David, earl of Huntington, returning from the Holy-land, being in great danger upon the seas, arrived at length in Tay, (without either rudder or tackle), at a place then called Alectum, now called Dundee, he founded the Abbey of Lundrose, where there are great abundance of adders, doing hurt to no man. At this time the pope sent his legate to King William, with a sword, the sheath and hilts of gold, set full of precious stones, with a hat or diadem, calling him, Defender of the church. King William being at Yorke with King John of England, there was a nobleman's child, of great beauty, being heir to great possesssons, having sundry contrarie diseases, uncurable by any phisicians, cured by King William, as appeared by miracle, hee being so godly a prince, who gave fair possessions to many abbeys, and erected the bishop's see of Ardgile, with sufficient lands, and came to Bertha, where he remained not long; but there chanced such an inundation of the two *rivers Tay* and Almond, that through violence *of the streames* the towne walles were borne

down, and many people drowned. The castle demolished, (King William narrowly escaping with his wife and children), his young sonne and nurse perished, and sundry others. He founded and builded the towne called Perth, and granted sundrie great privileges thereunto, now called St John's town. The king continuing in peace, died the forty-ninth year of his reign, and was buried in Aberbrothick.

94. Alexander *secundus*, succeeded his father in the year of the world 5184; in the year of Christ 1214; after the reign 1544; a valiant and good king, and severe justiciar. Hee pacified all rebellion in his realm. Hee agreed with King Henry of England, and married his sister, retaining Northumberland, Westmerland, Cumber, and Huntington; and King Alexander's two sisters were married unto two great princes of England. Hee past into France, and renewed the ancient band, and that neither of the princes should receive the enemies of the other's realme, nor to marry with any stranger, the one not making the other privy thereto. In the mean time, Jane, his queen, died without any succession. The next year he married, at Roxborrow, Mary, daughter to Ingelram, Earle of Coucy, in France, of great beauty, who bare to him a son, Alexander, who succeeded after him. Hee died in peace the five and thirty year of his reign, and was buried at Melrosse.

95. Alexander *tertius* succeeded his father in the year of the world 5219; in the year of Christ

1249; after the reign 1579; a good young prince, being at his coronation nine years of age. After that, the Kings of England and Scotland, with their nobles, conveened in York, where King Henry the third's daughter of England, Margaret, was married to King Alexander of Scotland. Enduring his tender age, the realme of Scotland was well governed by his nobles. He coming to perfect age, willing to execute justice, summoned the Earles of Menteith, Athole, and Buchquhan, and the Lord of Strabogy, which were all of the name of Cummings, and for non-appearance denounced them rebels. They, with their assistants, being a great number, because there were of the same name (by the aforesaid lords) thirtie knights and landed men, imprisoned the king in Striviling a certain space. King Acho of Norway came into the isles with many Danes. King Alexander, to resist him, came with a great army. There followed a dangerous and cruell battell, long with uncertaine victorie; at last the Danes being vanquished, and foure and twenty thousand of them killed, Acho fled to his ships: his whole navy, by tempestuous storms, being spoyled, returned with foure ships, left of his whole fleete, into Norway. Then after, his sonne Magnus, renouncing all title to the isles, contracted his sonne Hanigo, to be married with King Alexander's daughter, one year of age, at their both *perfect age.* About this time lived that notable *outlaw Robin* Hood, an Englishman, with his *fellow Little* John, a Scottishman, of whom are

many fables and merry jests. At this time Alexander, Earle of Carrike, past to the Holy-land, having a daughter, Martha, who succeeded in his heritage, married a nobleman, Robert Bruce, sonne and heire to Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Lord of Cleveland in England. This Martha aforesaid, inheritrix of Carrike, in the third year bare the noble and invincible champion, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. Margaret, sister to King Henry the third of England, bare to King Alexander two sonnes, Prince Alexander and David, and one daughter, Margaret, married unto Hanigo, Magnus sonne, King of Norway, who bare to him Margaret, called the Mayden of Norway. In this time died David, King Alexander's second sonne. King Alexander, with his queene, being at London, at the coronation of King Edward the first, there was a Norman in King Edward's court, of passing strength, overthrowing all men in wrestling, till at length a Scottishman of Rosse, descended of noble parentage, called Ferquhard, vanquished him, to his great praise. King Alexander, in reward of so worthie a deed, done in presence of so honourable assemblie, gave unto him the Earledome of Rosse for ever, of whom descended lineally five earles; the sixth earle was named William Rosse, *alias* Lesly, in whose sonne, the seventh earle, failed the dignitie of that house, for want of succession. Alexander the prince was married at Roxburgh, unto the *Earle of* Flander's daughter, whereat many of

the nobles of Scotland and England were present for the time. The third year after, Prince Alexander died at Lundores, the twentieth year of his age, to the great lamentation of the whole realme; for in him failed the whole succession of King Alexander the third, except the Mayden of Norway, who was gotten on his daughter Margaret before rehearsed. King Alexander, by counsell of his nobles, (after the death of the first queene), married Joleta, the Earle of Drux daughter in France, by whom hee had no succession. Hee builded Crosse Church of Peblis. In his time came the pestilence first in Scotland. Hee died of a fall of his horse, over the west craig at Kinghorne, the thirty seventh year of his reign, and was buried in Dumfermling. The day before the king's death, the Earle of Marche demanded of one Thomas Rymour, what weather should be to-morrow. Thomas answered, that on the morrow before noone, there should blow the greatest wind that ever was heard in Scotland. On the morrow, being almost noone, the ayre appearing calme, the earle sent for the said Thomas, and reproving him, said there was no appearance. Thomas answering, Yet noone is not past. Immediately cometh a post, and sheweth that the king was falne and killed. Then Thomas said to the earle, That is the wind that shall blow, to the great calamitie of all Scotland.

After the death of King Alexander the third, the *realme* was governed by six regents: for the *south side* of Forth, Robert, Archbishop of Glas-

gow, John Cumming, and John, the great Steward of Scotland; for the north side of Forth, William Fraser, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, Makduffe, Earle of Fiffe, and John Cumming, Earle of Buchquhane. They governed the space of seven years. During which time, Edward the first, King of England, sent his ambassadors into Scotland, for marriage of the Mayden of Norway aforesaid. The nobles of Scotland being agreed in all poynts with the said Edward, sirnamed Longshanks, the ambassadours of Scotland directed to bring the Mayden of Norway, the right inheritrix of Scotland with them. Before their arriving, she was departed this present life; by means whereof, great contention arose betweene Robert Bruce and John Balioll. The deciding of the said matter was, by the nobles of Scotland, unwisely referred to the said King Edward.

96. Johannes Baliollus was preferred before Robert Bruce, by King Edward, (sirnamed Longshanks), who being elected judge in the foresaid controversie, admitted him king, with condition that the said Balioll should acknowledge him for his superiour; which condition (refused by Robert Bruce) he, as an avaricious unworthie man, received, and began to reign in the year of the world 5263; in the year of Christ 1293; after the reign 1623; a vaine glorious man, little respecting the good of his countrie. In the fourth year he was expelled by the aforesaid King Edward, *into* France, where he died long after in

exile, Scotland being without king or governour for the space of nine years; during which time, King Edward cruelly oppressed the land, destroyed the whole ancient monuments, and shedde much innocent blood. About this time, William Wallace, sonne to Andrew Wallace of Cragy, knight, of huge stature, and marvelous strength of body, with good knowledge and skill in warlike enterprises, and also such hardinesse of stomach, in attempting all maner of dangerous exploits, that his match was not any where lightly to be found. Hee bare inward hate against the English nation. When the fame of his worthie acts was notified, many nobles and commons were ready to assist him: therefore he was chosen governour under the Balioll, to deliver the realme from the bondage of England. At this time many abbeys and spiritual benefices were in Englishmens hands, which he by commission of the archbishop of St. Andrews avoided, and put forth of all parts, and receiving the whole army that was under the conduct of John Cumming, Earle of Bucquhan; he conquered many castles, forts, and strengths, out of Englishmens hands. King Edward being in France, hearing thereof, sent his lieutenant Hugh Crassingham, with a great army into Scotland, where William Wallace encountering him at Striviling bridge, killed the said Crassingham, with the most part of his army, many being drowned, and few escaping away with life. Great dearth being in Scotland, he gathered a mighty army and past into Northumberland, wasting and spoyling the countrie to Newcastle;

for he with his army remained in England almost the whole winter, from the feast of All Saints, untill Candlemas, living upon the spoyle of Englishmens goods. King Edward being in France, hearing the deeds of Wallace, sent his ambassadour, sore menacing him, that he had invaded his realme, which he durst not have done if he had been at home. Wallace answered, that hee had taken the advantage as he had done in the wrongfull conquest of Scotland, (he being chosen by the nobles as indifferent judge): and further, sent word unto King Edward, that (if God fortune him to live), he purposed to hold his Easter in England; and comming with an army of thirtie thousand valiant men into England, at the appoynted time, King Edward was ready with an army of three score thousand upon Staines Moor to give them battell. Being ready to joyne, the Englishmen drew back, having at that time no lust to fight as appeared. The Scots seeing them draw back, would have followed, but Wallace fearing deceit, stayed them, and returned (with infinit spoyle and bootyes gotten in that journey) into Scotland. King Edward being advertised that Wallace was greatly envied by the Cumings and Robert la Bruce, raised a great army and came to Falkirke; and Wallace not knowing of any deceit, raysed a great army to resist, being in sight of Englishmen. There began a great contention for the leading of the vanguard, and by their owne misgovernance, many noblemen were killed. Robert Bruce was against the Scottish-

men that day. Shortly then after, Wallace came and renounced in Perth the government, and also refused great and large offers of King Edward, to be his subject and true man, for he remembered his school lesson, which was this:

Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito fili.

My sonne (I say), freedome is best,
Then never yeeld to thralls arrest.

John Cumming and Simon Fraser being admitted governours, King Edward sent a great army to Perth, subduing the countrie. The aforesaid governours raised an army of eight thousand of valiant men. King Edward sent with Ralph Comfray thirtie thousand men, dividing them in three armies, and to passe in three sundrie parts through the country, and to meet at Rosling. The governours aforesaid, encountering with the first ten thousand, defeated them; and so at three sundry times in one day, the Scots obtained the victorie. King Edward, impatient hereof, gathered a mightie armie of sundrie nations, and subdued with great cruelty the most part of the Scottish nation. At this time began the surname of Forbes, then being called Alexander Boyes, for killing of a beare by singular manhood. About this time was William Wallace trayterously betrayed by Sir John Menteith at Glasgow, and *delivered* to King Edward; and being brought *to London,* was cruelly executed in Smithfield. *King Edward* accused Robert Bruce of a contract

made betwixt him and John Cumming; and he stoutly denying the same, was advertised by the Earle of Glocester of the king's displeasure; causing a smith to shoe his horses backward, in the winter, the ground being covered with snow, hee came into Scotland, howbeit he was sharply pursued; and meeting with his brother and some friends, and being advertised that the Cumming was in the Fryers at Dumfries, after hard communing, he suddenly killed him, where through he purchased many enemies, both Englishmen and Scottishmen, and was hardly pursued, especially by the Cummings, being then very potent and rich, and a great number of them.

97. Robertus Brussius, nephew to Isabell, second daughter to David Earle of Huntington, King William's brother, began his reign in the year of the world 5276; in the year of Christ 1306; after the reign 1636. A valiant king, good and wise, (in his beginning subject to great affliction); his queene was taken and detayned prisoner untill the battell of Bannockburne; his three brothers, Nigell, Thomas, and Alexander, with many other noblemen and gentlemen of King Robert's side, were executed at Carleil and Berwick; but being assisted by the Earle of Lennox and Gilbert Hay, and specially by James Dowglasse, a valiant man, (and cousen to William Lamberton, archbishop of St. Andrews), took all his gold and horses, (the bishop being privy thereunto), with sundrie young valiant men of his opinion, who remained with the said King Ro-

bert both in warres and peace, to the end of his life. Of this James Dowglasse descended the valiant and illuster surname of Dowglasse, the sure target and defence of Scotland, as these old verses shew:

So many good as of the Dowglasse hath beene,
Of one surname was never in Scotland seene.

King Robert having vanquished King Edward the second of Carnaruen, being of sundry nations, of horse and foot three hundred thousand warriours, and King Robert not above thirtie thousand, old, well exercised, valiant men, at the battell of Bannockburne, delivered Scotland free from all servitude of England, all Englishmen being expelled out of the land. He married first Isabell, daughter to the Earle of Marre, who bare to him Margery, married to Walter the great steward of Scotland; after her death, he married the daughter of Haymerus de Burck, Earl of Hultonia, or Hulster, in Ireland; who bare to him David the prince, Margaret, Countesse of Sudderland, and Mawde, that dyed young. John Baliol transferred his right of the crowne of Scotland unto King Robert and his heyres. King Robert rewarded Robert Fleming (who assisted him in killing of the Cumming), with the lands of Cumbernald, then belonging to the Cumming. Also two knights of Brabant, being first in the English camp, and moved at some reproachfull words spoken against King Robert, being sent to King Robert's camp by King Edward, were highly rewarded by King

Robert; who returning to Antwerpe, builded a goodly house, called Scotland, causing the Scottish armes, with the picture of the Bruce, to bee set up therein, and appointed it a house for the Scottish nation, as may appeare unto this day. In this time, Hamton, an Englishman, descended of noble parentage, for the killing of one Spencer, came into Scotland, and was courteously received by King Robert, who rewarded him with the lands of Cadyow, whose posterity is spread in great number, now called Hamiltons, endowed with great honour and riches. King Robert dyed at Cardrose, the twentie fourth year of his reign, and was buried in Dumfermling. After this time Sir James Dowglasse, (as most worthie champion), was chosen by the nobles to passe with King Robert's heart to Jerusalem, and there to cause the same to be buried within the temple, beside the sepulcher of our Lord, conforme to the said king's direction, because he had avouched, or vowed, to have past with a great army in defence of the Christian faith, against the Turkes and Sarazens, (if he had not beene hindred or stayed by warres at home), and now prevented by death. Sir James Dowglasse willingly obeyed, as he that most faithfully had served King Robert in his life time; and inclosing his heart in a case of gold, enbalmed with sweete spices and precious oyntments, accompanied with Sir William Sinclair and Sir Robert Logane, with many other noble and valiant men, past and buried the said heart with great reverence and solemnity, at the place ap-

poynted. Therefore the Dowglasse beares the bloody heart in their armes or coat. Thereafter, Sir James Dowglasse, with his noble and valiant men, accompanied with other Christian princes then present, many times obtained great victorie against the Turkes and Sarazens; so that by his often victories, he purchased great honours to the Christian name: he purposing to returne home, by tempestuous winds was compelled to land in Spaine, upon the borders of Granad, where he assisted the king of Aragon in his warres against the Sarazens, obtayned great victories. At last, (being negligent of himselfe), was inclosed with an ambushment, purposely laid for him by the Sarazens. He and his, most valiantly defending, were vanquished and killed, with all his nobles and valiant men. Thus ended the noble and valiant Dowglasse, one of the most worthie and renowned knights that was in his dayes. It is chronicled, that he was victorious against the Turkes and Sarazens thirteene times, and against Englishmen in battell, fifty seven times. In memorie of the Dowglasse, in our time, there was a port or gate in Danskin, called the Dowglasse port, now re-edified sumptuously, (called the Hochindure), the high port. Also there are sundry earles in the easterne parts of that name, and specially one was called Grave, or Earle Scotus, a great nicromancer; his title was Ieronimus Scotus, *Grave*, or Earle of Dowglasse: his brethren *dwell in Italy.*

98. David Brussius succeeded his father in the

year of the world 5300; in the year of Christ 1330; after the reign 1660. A good prince, subject to much affliction in his youth; he being seven yeares of age, the Earle of Murray, Thomas Randall, a severe justiciar, and a very valiant man, was continued governour; for he ruled all Scotland the last foure yeares of King Robert's reign, under whose government the realme of Scotland flourished in wealth and riches, (for the rush bush keeped the kow). King Edward of England advertised hereof, envying the prosperous estate of the Scots, he thought good to attempt that by slight, which he could not doe by force; and finding a monke fit for this purpose, who did promise to poyson the aforesaid governour, the monke fayned himself to bee a physicioner, and to cure the stone and gravel, (wherewith the governour was sore vexed), and being in credit with the Earle, at last he poysoned him, howbeit, at the first it took no effect. The monke returning to King Edward, shewed him how hee had poysoned the governour; who immediately raysing a great army, came to the borders: the Earle advertised hereof, raysed a great power; and though he was not able to ride nor goe, hee was carried in a litter. King Edward hearing that the Earle was in person there, (contrary to his expectation), sent a herauld to the Earle to intreat for a counterfeit peace: the governour finding himselfe very weake, and hearing of the herauld's coming, arrayed himselfe in sumptuous apparell, that it might appeare he was rather re-

covered, than otherwise weake and feeble; and giving a sharpe and bold answere to the herauld, he gave him also his costly apparell. King Edward expected the returning of the herauld, who reporting that the governour was in health, returned and dimitted his army, and caused the monke to be burnt, for deceiving of his prince. The governour returning home, deceased at Musselborow, and was buried at Dumfermling, anno 1331. After his death, Patricke, Earle of March, and David, Earle of Marre, were chosen governours. Edward Balioll, assisted by King Edward, and by many Scottishmen, fugitives in England, (promised to hold the crowne of the said King Edward), entered Scotland by sea, accompanied with the Lord Stafford, and divers other captaines, notwithstanding the contract of marriage past between King David and King Edward's sister. The Earles of Marre and March, governours, raysed two mightie armies to resist the Balioll; the Balioll came near the water of Erne, and the Earle of Marre incamped within sight of the English army; and seeing their small number, did take small regard of himselfe. The Balioll in the night passed the water of Erne, and having intelligence of the foord, by a stake set up of purpose, he entred the Earle of Marre's camp, and killed him in his bed, with many other nobles, and especially Robert Bruce, Earle of Carrick, Alexander Fraser, knight, William Hay, constable of Scotland, with all his linage, so wholly, that had not his wife beene great bellyed,

and afterwards delivered of a sonne, all his surname had beene utterly extinguished: also Robert Keith, marshal, with sundrie other noblemen and commons, and many others, were taken. The Balioll past immediately and besieged Perth, and quickly entred it by force. The Earle of March, the other governour, being incamped at Ochterarder, and hearing of the death of the Earle of Marre, and the winning of the towne of Perth, came with his army and besieged the said towne, and filled the ditches, that if hee had given the assault, hee might have entred. Hee suddainly raised his campe, to the great dammage of the whole nation.

99. Edward Baliollus, sonne to John Balioll, assisted by King Edward the third, usurped the crowne, the year of the world 5302; in the year of Christ 1332; after the reign 1662. The king being in Perth, the parties that favoured King Bruce, besieged him: whereupon the Lord Maxwell, with them of Galloway, invaded the lands of them that did besiege the Balioll: wherefore Earle Patrick, the new Earle of Murray, with the Lord Andrew Murray, and Lord Archbald Dowglasse, entered Galloway, and destroyed all the countrie with fire and sword. The King Balioll fortifyed the town of Perth, and appoynted the Earle of Fife to the keeping thereof. The sonnes of them that were killed at the battell of Duppling, Robert Keith, Alexander Lyndsay, James and Simon Fraser, wonne Perth in the third month after they had laid siege thereunto; and

taking the Earle of Fife, committed him to the castle of Kildrummy. Andrew Murray of Tullybarden was beheaded. The towne being wonne, was put to the keeping of John Lyndsay: thereafter, John Randall, Earle of Murray, son to the Earle Thomas (of famous memory), and Archbald Dowglasse, Earle of Galloway, and brother to James Dowglasse killed in Spaine, with Simon Fraser and others, gathered a great army, and came with the same against the Balioll, and vanquished him, killed his nobles, and tooke many prisoners. After this victory, Andrew Murray, a man of great puissance and possessions, was chosen to be governour with the Earle of March. These two governours hearing that the king of England was intended to invade Scotland with a great army, sent Sir Alexander Seyton to Berwick, with other gentlemen, for defence thereof. The new governour, Andrew Murray, in a skirmish which he made at the bridge of Rocksborough, pursuing over sharply in the chase, was inclosed and taken ere he could be rescued. At the same time, William Dowglasse, Lord of Liddesdale, named for his manhood the flower of chivalrie, sonne to Sir James Dowglasse, oft before mentioned, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noblemen, thus taken prisoners, were detayned long in captivitie, *and then* ransomed for a great sum of gold. The *realme being* thus divided, the one part assisting *the Balioll,* the other assisting King David; King

Edward of England judging it a fit time for him to make a full conquest of Scotland, raysed a mighty army, both of Englishmen and strangers. The Scottish nobles sent the Earle of Murray into France to King David, to purchase aid of the French king. In the mean time, the king of England besieged Berwick, which was mightily defended by the Scots; at which time, Archbald Dowglasse was chosen governour in the place of Andrew Murray, who raising a mighty army, past to the borders of England, so to withdraw King Edward from the siege of Berwick. King Edward advertised hereof, sent a messenger to Alexander Seyton, captaine of the towne, to deliver the towne presently into his hands, or else he would hang his two sons whom he had in his hands. Sir Alexander refused: his two sons were hanged. Then the governour, Archbald Dowglasse, came with an army into Northumberland, where a cruell battell was foughten on Halidonhill, and the governour killed, with many nobles, and then Berwick was rendred, and Edward Balioll established king, who sought by all means to have gotten Robert Stewart in his hands; for he knew he had (next unto King David), title to the crowne. Hee being of the age of fifteene yeares, was convoyed to Dumbreyton, and received by Malcolme Flemming, captaine thereof. King Edward prepared an army both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland, but the most part of his ships perished in Forth. The king returning with the Balioll into England, left David

Cuming, Earle of Athole, governour in his place, who seized upon all the lands in Murray and Buchan, pertaining to Robert Stewart, and confiscated all the goods pertaining to the said Stewart's friends. Robert Stewart, with the helpe of Dungoll Cambell of Loch-howell, took the castle of Dunnune, and killed all the Englishmen therein; and assisted with the commons of Bute and Aran, he killed Allan Lyle, sheriff of Bute: hee granted many priviledges to the inhabitants of Bute and Aran. There came to him at that time, Thomas Bruce, Earle of Carrick. The Earle of Murray came foorth of France, and landed at Dumbreyton, and passing further with their support, reduced much of the countrie to the obeysance of King David, and chased the Earle of Athole, governour aforesaid, to the mountaines. About the same time was Sir William Dowglasse and Andrew Murray, being three yeares in captivitie, ransomed, and came home; at their comming to Edenburgh, where the nobles were assembled, they elected the Earle of Murray and Robert Stewart, governours. Many revolted to King David, as Alexander Ramsey, a skilfull warriour; Laurence Preston, John Herring, and John Haliburton, knight. The king of England invaded Scotland with a great army of 180 ships, losing many of them by storme. The king, with the Balioll, came with 50,000 men to Perth. The *Earle of* Athole revolted from King David. The *Earle of* Namure, (or as some hold, Gilder), *came with* an army to help King Edward. Hee

was vanquisht by the governours upon the borough moor of Edenburgh, and convoyed by the Earle of Murray, governour, to the borders. The governour was taken by a privy ambush, laid purposely for him, and brought to King Edward. David Cuming, Earle of Athole, was chosen governour for the Balioll, who exercised great crueltie. Patricke Dumbar, Earle of March, Sir Andrew Murray, and Sir William Dowglasse, raised a power to represse the Earle of Athole, hee lying at the siege of Kildrummy, gave them a sore battell in the forrest of Kilblayn, and had gotten the victorie, had not John Craig, captaine of Kildrummy, with 300 fresh men, come to their support, they being 1100, obtained the victory against the said earle, and killed him, hee being about 3000, and tooke many prisoners. After this battell, Sir Andrew Murray was again chosen governour in the Earle of Murray's place. The new governour besieged the castle of Cowper; but hearing that the Cumings and Englishmen were rysing in the north, hee came with a great army, obtaining victorie, reduced all the north to King David's obedience; and winning the castle of Dongard, expelled all Englishmen out of the north. Hee besieged the castle of Lochyndoris, wherein the Countesse of Athole was. King Edward came with 40,000 men and relieved her; and with bloody sword came through Murrayland, and burnt Aberdene; and coming to Perth, he caused the walles to be re-edyfied. King Edward returning againe into England, the gover-

nour came from the mountaines, and wonne the castle of Kinclewin, demolishing it. Hee raysed a great army, assisted by them of Murray-land, Marre, and Bucquhan, and fought a great battell against Englishmen and Cumings, at Panmoore, in Angus, obtaining a great victorie, with huge slaughter of noblemen, with many prisoners. Thereafter he past through Angus and Fife, overthrowing the castles there, with the castle of Lucres, (Cowper castle excepted). King Edward hearing thereof, sent two great armies into Scotland; the first being led by William Talboyes, a nobleman; he was encountered by William Keith and vanquisht, with his army, and he taken prisoner. The other army was led by Richard Mountford, with whom Laurence Preston and William Gordon met, and giving him battell, killed him, with most part of his army. About this time, Sir William Mountagew, Earle of Salisbury, and the Earle of Arundell, came into Scotland with a great army, and besieged the castle of Dumbar twenty two weeks, wherein was black Agnes, the countesse, who defended the same valiantly. One time the engine called the Sow, brought against the castle, she said merrily, except Englishmen keep their sow better, shee would make her to cast her piges. The foresaid earles being forced, left the siege and departed. The castle of Cowper was left voyd by the soul-diers, who hyring a ship to passe into England, perished all upon a sand bed. About this time, William Dowglasse came secretly to Edenburgh,

and killed 400 Englishmen, snorting asleep. Not long after, Andrew Murray, governour, deceased, to the great damage of the commonwealth, and was buried in Rosimarky, anno 1338. King Edward falling in warres with France, left the pursute of Scotland. William Dowglasse, having but forty men, fought at the Craigens with Sir John Striviling, being about 500 men. Thereafter he wanne the castle of Hermitage, killing all that were within it. The next year he fought five times in one day with Sir Laurence Abernethie, principall captaine under the Balioll; and being put to the worse at foure times, at the fifth time he vanquisht his enemies, and took the said captaine prisoner, and sent him to Dumbreyton. The said William Dowglasse being highly commended for his worthie enterprises, was sent into France to King David, by Robert Stewart, then sole governour, who raysing a mighty army, besieged Perth ten weekes, losing more than they wan, the towne being fiercely defended by Englishmen, and being almost out of hope to winne the towne, Sir William Dowglasse arrived in Tay. Not long after, the towne was rendred to the governour, and also the castle of Striviling. At this time Edward Balioll fled into England. The castle of Edenburgh was won by great policie by Sir William Dowglasse, William Bullocke, Walter Fraser, and John Sandilands, all *valiant knights*. The realme of Scotland being *clearly* recovered out of Englishmens hands, King *David*, with his queen, Jane, arrived safely, wi

many Scots and Frenchmen, at Innerberwy. At this time, Sir Alexander Ramsey of Dalhousy, one of the most valiant knights in his dayes, gathered a great power, and past into England, and in a great battell killed many Englishmen, and took the Earle of Salisbury and the captaine of Roxbrough prisoners; and assaulting Roxbrough, wanne it by great force, wherefore the king made him captaine thereof, together with the sheriffwicke of Tiviotdale; whereat Sir William Dowglasse was displeased, and apprehending him in the church of Hawick, put him in prison in Hermitage, where he dyed in great miserie. The king being sore offended hereat, Sir William Dowglasse fled to the mountaines: at last he was by Robert Stewart reconciled with the king, and his lands restored. The Earle of Salisbury was exchanged for the Earle of Murray. King David called a parliament at Perth, wherein he liberally rewarded the sonnes and friends of them that were killed at the battell of Duppling, and many others that had done any vassalage against their enemies. The king made sundry roads in England. At this time Calice was besieged by King Edward; wherefore there came ambassadours from France, and from the king of England, with large proffers, which (unwisely) were refused: whereupon, King David raysed a great army, and past into Northumberland, against whom came the earle thereof, with *a mightie* army. The battell was cruelly foughten *on all hands*; at last Robert Stewart and the

Earle of March sounded the retreat, in purpose to have taken advantage of a little mount. This was the occasion that Englishmen coming fiercely upon the mid battell, wherein the king valiantly fighting, and were loth to be taken, but rather would have foughten to death, seeing so many of his nobles killed: at length he was taken, with the Earle of Dowglasse, Fife, Southerland, Wigtoun, and Menteith, and many nobles killed, at this lamentable battle of Durham. The next year, the Balioll, with the Earle of Northumberland, came into Scotland with a great army, and used great cruelty. Robert Stewart was chosen gover-vernour; then a great pest came the second time into Scotland. Then after, there were men of warre sent by the French king, with 10,000 crownes: whereupon the Earle of March, Sir William Dowglasse, and Sir Alexander Ramsey of Dalhousy, entering England with a great army, killing many and taking many prisóners, besieging the towne of Berwick, won it, with the losse of Thomas Vaus, Andrew Scot of Balwery, John Gordon, William Synclare, Thomas Preston, and Alexander Mowbray, all valiant knights. On the English side were many killed, with Alexander Ogle, captaine, and the Earle of Northumberland's brother. The castle being defended, King Edward came to release it, and caused to repayre the walles, and used great crueltie against the people with burning, so that this time was called the burnt Candlemas. At this time was King *John of* France taken at Poyctiers, by Edward

the black prince. At Christmas, the king of England sat betwixt two captive kings. After King David's eleven years captivitie, he being ransomed, returned to Scotland, and called a parliament, and because the sounding of the retreat by the Earle of March and Robert Stewart, at the battell of Durham, was occasion of the losse of the field; hee annulled the act made to the said Robert anent the crowne, and ordained the Earle of Southerland's son, John, gotten upon his youngest sister Jane, to be heir apparent to the crowne: whereupon the Earle of Southerland gave the most part of his lands to the Hayes, Sinclares, Ogylbies, and Gordons; he was disappointed, for his son John being pledge in England for the king's ransome, dyed in England. Robert Stewart was reconciled, and made againe heire apparent. The king called a counsell, and according to his promise, proponed to his nobles, if they would be content, after his death, (without heires gotten of his body), to have the king of England's sonne and his heires, to succeed to the crowne. The nobles all answered, so long as they were able to beare armour or weapon, they would never consent. Which answer pleased the king exceedingly; for there through he was discharged of his promise made to King Edward. Hee repaired many strengths, and caused to be builded *David's tower* in Edinburgh: hee repressed sun*dry rebellions.* King David (not past nine years *of age),* was convoyed over into France, with *Queen Jane,* (afterwards his wife), where hee re-

mained nine yeares, and was detained prisoner in England twelve yeares; after hee was at liberty, hee married the aforesaid Jane, daughter to Edward the Second, king of England; after her death, he married Margaret Logy, daughter to Sir John Logy, knight. (The order of the garter first invented by Edward the Third, anno 1344.) He purposing to have past to Jerusalem, provided all things necessarie, but he being sicke of a hote fever, dyed in the castle of Edinburgh, without succession, the fortieth year of his reign, and was buried in Holyroodhouse. The nobles assembled at Linlithgow for the election of a king, and the most part agreed to Robert Stewart; but William, Earle of Dowglasse, came with a great power, and claimed the crowne by right of Edward Balioll and the Cumming. Robert Stewart being at last assisted by the Earles of March and Marre, and especially by the Lord Erskine, being of great puissance, captaine of the castles of Edinburgh, Striviling, and Dumbarton, was elected king, the Earle of Dowglasse resigning his pretended right. The king, to have the surer friendship of his subject, the Earle, after married his eldest daughter Eufame, to James, the Earle of Dowglasse sonne.

100. Robertus Stewartus, the first king of the Stewarts, sonne to Walter the great steward, and Margery Bruce, King Robert Bruce his daughter, succeeded his mother's brother in the year of the world 5341; in the year of Christ 1371, *after the reign* 1701. A good, valiant, and vic-

torious king, who had married Eufame, daughter to Hugh, Earle of Rosse, who bore to him David, Earl of Straitherne, Walter, Earle of Athole, and Alexander, Earle of Bucquhan, Lord Badyenach, and sundrie daughters, one was married to John Dumbar, Earle of Murray, and another to John Lyon, Lord Glames, and after chancellor of Scotland, of whom descended the noble surname of Lyons, and after killed by the Earle of Crauford. Gunnes were first in use, which were invented by a Germane, anno 1441. After her death, for the affection he bare to his children begotten before his marriage, he married Elizabeth Mure, daughter to Sir Adam Mure, knight, who had borne to him John, after called Robert the Third, Earle of Carricke, and Robert, Earle of Fife and Menteith, and Eufame, wife to James, Earle of Dowglasse. After he called a parliament at Perth, intayling the crowne to his sonnes, beginning at John, his eldest sonne, (after called Robert the Second), whereunto the nobles were sworne. Immediately after this time, there were sundrie skirmishes done upon the borders by the Earles of March and Murray, and Sir John Gordon, who did take Sir John Lilborne and Thomas Musgrave, captaines of Berwick, prisoners; and upon the west marches, Sir John Johnstone fought sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and obtained the victorie. After this, William, Earle of Dowglasse, came with twenty thousand men to the fayre of Pennire, within England, and spoyled all the goods there, and brought with

them the pestilence, whereof many dyed. In revenge whereof, the Englishmen came with a great army over Solway, and used great crueltie. In the mean time, the Scots gathered to the number of 500 men, and stood at a straight, and then with sudden noise and clamour, as the Englishmen past by, they set on them; and the Englishmen giving backe, were drowned in the water of Solway. About this time, Edward the Third, king of England, dyed. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, came into Scotland, and intreated to have a peace for three yeares: returning home, and advertised of the uprore of the commons in England, under Jacke Straw, hee returned againe into Scotland, and stayed there awhile. After the peace was finished, Archbald Dowglasse, Lord of Galloway, with the assistance of the Earle of Dowglasse and March, laid a strong siege to the castle of Lochmaben, and fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleil, and put them to flight, and wan the foresaid castle, and razed it down to the earth. King Richard hearing thereof, sent the Baron of Graystocke, with a certain number of men, to fortifie Roxborough: he being within a mile thereof, was taken by the Earle of March, and brought to Dumbar, with all his provision: the same year, after the recoverie of the strengths of Tividale out of Englishmens hands by the Earle of Dowglasse, he dyed at the castle of Dowglasse, and was buried at Melrosse. He was one of the most valiant men that was in his dayes. His sonne James succeeded in the earldome of Dow-

glasse; a right fierce and valiant knight, who by the king's appoyntment, passed with an army into England, and spoyled the countrie as farre as Newcastle, but being countermaunded home, hee came to Perth, where hee found the admirall of France, with 240 ships, with warriours well provided, who remained in Scotland; and accompanied with the Earle of Fife, generall of the army, with the Earles of Dowglasse and March, with Archbald Dowglasse, Earle of Galloway, entered with a great army into England, and took the castle of Warke, Ford, and Cornewall, and did much hurt in the countrie; and laying siege to Roxborough and Carleil, the Frenchmen and Scots could not agree in whose names the strengths should be kept, if they were wonne. King Richard entred Scotland with a great army, and passed through the Mers and Louthian with great crueltie. After his returning into England, the Earles of Fife and Dowglasse, with Archbald Dowglasse Earle of Galloway, entred into England with a great army; and coming secretly through the water of Solway, came to Cockermouth, and brought a rich booty together in three dayes, and returned safely into Scotland. William Dowglasse, sonne to Archbald Dowglasse, Earle of Galloway, wanne great fame and honour at this time; wherefore King Robert advanced him highly, and gave him his daughter Gyles in marriage, a lady of excellent beautie. *This foresaid* William Dowglasse was a mightie *personage*, and very valiant, endued with many

other good qualities; hee was of such strength, that whomsoever hee strook, either with mace, sword, or speare, down he went, were he never so well armed: at one time having 800 men, he fought against 3000 Englishmen, of whom 200 he slew, and brought 500 prisoners into Scotland, (as noted John Fordon). In the year 1388, Robert, Earle of Fife, and Archbald Dowglasse, past into England with a great army. At this time came the Irishmen into Galloway, and took a great booty; whereupon William Dowglasse, son to the Lord of Galloway aforesaid, followed into Ireland, (assisted by his brother the Earle of Fife), and burnt the towne of Carlingford; and finding three score ships in sundry havens, loading fifteen of them with the spoyle of the towne, burnt the rest; and returning home, spoyled the Isle of Man. After this, the king of England sent an army into Scotland, who did much hurt in the Mers. King Robert, in revenge hereof, sent two great armies into England; the one army led by the Earle of Fife, entered Cumberland, and the other army, led by the Earles of Dowglasse and March, entered Northumberland, and spoyled and wasted to Durham. The two armies met within two miles of Newcastle. The Earle of Dowglasse chose out 10,000 men to besiege Newcastle, wherein was the Earles of Northumberland, with his two sons, Henry Hotspure, and Ralfe, his brother. The said Henry required to fight with the Earle of Dowglasse, which *request the* Earle granting, together they ran, be-

ing mounted on two great coursers, with sharpe ground speares. The Earle of Dowglasse in this encounter bare himselfe so well, that in the end he drave Percy out of his saddle, but he was rescued and brought into the towne. Immediately the Dowglasse assaulted the towne, and put ladders thereto, but the Englishmen defending them well, the Scots were beaten back, and the Dowglasse retiring, encamped. At Otterburne, Henry Percy aforesaid following them with all speed, there was a cruell battell foughten, while night severed them; when the moone began to appeare, they joyned again, with more malice than afore; the Englishmen fought so eagerly, putting the Scots abacke, that had not Patricke Hepborne, with his sonne and ōthers, come to their helpe, they had beene put to the worse: also the Earle of Dowglasse had a great mace in his hand, that none came within his reach, but down he went. Finally, the Scots bare themselves so manfully, that the Englishmen were put to flight, and many taken prisoners, to the number of 1040, with the two Percyes, Henry and Ralfe, above 1800 killed. The Earle of Dowglasse was thrice strucken through the body, and also mortally wounded upon the head, that immediately he dyed, to the great discomfort of his whole army, conceiving more dolor for losse of so worthie a chieftaine, than joy for gaine of so great a victorie. Hee was buried at Melrosse beside his father; and *because he had* no heires of his body, Archbald *Dowglasse*, Earle of Galloway, succeeded in the

earldome. The next year a parliament was called at Perth, wherein the king's second sonne, Robert, Earle of Fife, was elected governour. The king by reason of his great age of 75 years, was not able to governe. He was a valiant, victorious, and fortunate prince in all his warres; for his governours and captaines returned always with victorie. He was very constant, and a great justiciar, and hearing diligently the complaints of the poore, caused all wrongs to be redrest: without accidentall sicknesse, he dyed of great age, in the castle of Dundonald, the nineteenth year of his reign, and was buried at Scone.

101. Robertus *tertius*, (surnamed John Fernyeare), succeeded his father in the year of the world 5360; in the year of Christ 1390; after the reign 1720. He was a modest and peaceable prince; he married Annabill Drummond, daughter to the knight of Stobhall, who bare to him David the prince, and James, his second sonne. About this time, William Dowglasse of Niddisdale was chosen by the Lords of Spruce, admirall of a great navy of 240 ships, to pass against the Turkes. The Lord Clifford appealing the Dowglasse to singular combat; but afore the day appoynted, he lay in waite, and killed the said Dowglasse, upon the bridge of Danskin, to the stay of that journey. At this time, the two clans of Clankayes and Clanquhattanes, in the North Inch of Perth, before the king and nobles, fought thirty for thirty, with sharpe swords without armour. All the Clankayes were killed except one,

who swam over Tay, and so escaped: eleven of the Clanquhattanes escaped with life, but all sore wounded, in anno 1396. The third year after, the king held a parliament at Perth; hee created his eldest sonne David, (of eighteen years), Duke of Rothsay, and Robert Earle of Fife, (governour aforesaid), Duke of Albany. These were the first Dukes in Scotland. At this time, (peace continuing betwixt England and Scotland), David, Earle of Crauford, and the Lord Welles in England, were agreed to run certaine courses on horseback with sharpe speares, for life and death, upon London bridge, upon St. George's day; and running together on their mighty horses right eagerly, yet they keept their saddles: the people perceiving Earle David to sit so stifly, cried the Scottishman was lockt in his saddle; he hearing this, leapt beside his horse, and right deliverly mounted up againe armed, to the great wonder of the beholders. The second time they ranne without any hurt; but the third time the Lord Walles was borne out of his saddle, with a sore fall and evill hurt. Because the Earle vanquished his adversarie upon St. George's day, he founded a chantorie of seven priests, in our Ladyes Church of Dundee. The Earle remained in England three monthes, feasting and sporting among the nobles, being highly commended for his great liberalitie. Not long after, Sir Robert Morley, an Englishman, came into Scotland to try his manhood in *singular* battell; he vanquished Archbald Edmonston and Hugh Wallace, but being overcome

by Hugh Trayle at Berwick, he died shortly of melancholy. King Robert, when he heard one of his sonnes was deceased in Falkland, by procurement of Robert, Duke of Albany, (who aspired to the crowne), and James, his second son, taken prisoner in his voyage to France, and detayned by Englishmen: he dyed of displeasure within three days, the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried in Paslay, where his queene was before buried.

Robert, Duke of Albany, Earle of Fife and Menteith, governed Scotland in the year of the world 5376; in the year of Christ 1406; after the reign 1736. James the First being captive in England, a noble and valiant prince: he died the fourteenth year of his government. Printing was first invented by a German in the city of Mentz, anno 1442. In the year 1411, the universitie of St. Andrews was founded, and by King James the First augmented with learned men. (John Husse was burnt for the gospell). Duke Murdo, Earle of Fife and Menteith, was made governour four yeares. James the First returning home from captivitie, caused the said Murdo and his sonne to be executed for oppressing of his subjects.

102. Jacobus *primus* began his reign in the year of the world 5394; in the year of Christ 1424; after the reign 1754. A godly, wise, and victorious prince, and a severe justiciar: he married Jane, daughter to the Duke of Somerset, *Marquesse* Dorset, son to John of Gaunt, third

son to Edward the Third, the victorious king of England, who did beare to him two sons (twines), Alexander, who died shortly, and James the Second, who succeeded his father, and sixe daughters, Margaret, wife to Lewes the Eleventh, dolphin, then after king of France; Elizabeth, Dutchess of Britaine; Jane, Countesse of Huntley; Elenor, Dutchess of Austria; Mary, wife to the Lord of Camphier, and Annabella. There came with him sundrie Englishmen, gentlemen, and Andrew Gray, who by the king's procurement married the heretrix of Fowles; and so the lordship of Fowles remaines to the surname of Grays, with many other lands. The king held his first parliament at Edinburgh. The second parliament was holden at Perth, wherein many noblemen were convict, and committed to prison, and sundry executed. The third parliament was holden at Striviling, where Duke Murdo and his two sonnes were beheaded, with Duncane Stewart, Earle of Lennox. Thereafter, Queen Jane was delivered of two sonnes at one birth, Alexander and James; Alexander deceased, and James succeeded. The fourth parliament was holden at Perth, wherein Henry Wardlow, bishope of St. Andrews, made a pithy oration against surfeyting and superfluous banqueting cheer, wherein severe order was taken. The king raysed an army of two hundred thousand men, and besieged Roxborough fifteene days. About this time, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, was burnt in St. Andrews *for the gospell.* The fifth parliament was holden

at Perth, where the Earle of March was disinherited. The king was killed at Perth trayterously, by Walter, Earle of Athole, Robert Graham, and their complices, who were all apprehended and cruelly tormented to death, the thirteenth year of his reign, after his deliverance out of England, and the thirty first year after the death of his father. Hee was buried in the charter house of Perth, which he founded.

103. Jacobus *secundus*, succeeded his father in the year of the world 5407; in the year of Christ 1437; after the reign 1767. (A prince subject to great troubles in his youth): he married Margaret, daughter to Arnold, Duke of Gilder, sister's daughter to Charles, surnamed Audax, the last Duke of Burgundy, who bare to him James the Third; and Alexander, Duke of Albany, who married the Earle of Orkney's daughter, and begat on her Alexander, bishop of Murray: hee parting with her, married in France the Countesse of Boloyne, and begat on her John Stewart, Duke of Albany, who was many yeares governour of Scotland. The third sonne, John, was Earle of Marre; he dyed in the Canongate without succession: the first daughter married one Thomas Boyd, Earle of Arran; after his decourting, she married the Lord of Hamilton, and by that way the house of Hamilton is decorated by the king's blood. This king was killed at the siege of Roxbrough, by the slyce of a great piece, being overcharged, and hurt the Earle of Angusse, with *sundry others*; he was greatly lamented of his

subjects, being not onely honoured as their king, but also greatly beloved as a father, the twentie fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Holyroodhouse. After his death, the queen, a woman of a stout stomacke, came with her sonne, seven yeares of age, to the siege of the aforesaid Roxbrough, and encouraged the nobles and captaines, that the castle was wonne and demolished, and also the castle of Warke.

104. Jacobus *tertius*, succeeded his father in the year of the world 5430; in the year of Christ 1460; after the reign 1790. A good prince, (corrupted with wicked courtiers), he married Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke (surnamed Diues), and king of Norway, who in his favour renounced all title that hee had in any manner of way to Orkney, Shetland, and the Isles, for ever; shee bare him James the Fourth, Alexander bishop of St. Andrews, and Duke of Albany, and John Earle of Marre; they died both without succession. Hee made peace with King Henry of England, who, (like a liberall prince), for the favour hee had received in Scotland, restored the towne of Berwick to the king. Thomas Cochrane and William Rogers, (his perverse courtiers), were hanged at the bridge of Lawder. The king was killed at Bannockburne the twenty ninth year of his reign, and was buried at Cambuskenneth.

105. Jacobus *quartus*, succeeded his father in the year of the world 5459; in the year of Christ 1489; after the reign 1819. A noble and cou-

ragious prince, both wise and godly: he made peace with England, and married Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry the Seventh, King of England, and Elizabeth, daughter to Edward the Fourth, in whose persons the cruell warres betweene the houses of Lancaster and York were pacified; the foresaid Margaret bare to him James the Fift. The king of Denmarke, by division of his lords, was constrained to seeke reliefe in Scotland, being honourably received by the king, who appoynted the Earle of Arran, with 10,000 warriours, to passe with the King of Denmarke, who restored him to his kingdome, and returned with great honour with his army. About this time, Sir Anthony Darcy, knight, Frenchman, named le Sire de la Bawty, came through England to Scotland, to seeke feates of armes. The Lord Hamilton fought with him in armour, right valiantly, so that none of them lost any piece of honour. Pope Julius the Second sent an ambassadour to King James, declaring him protector and defender of the Faith; and in signe thereof, sent to him a diadem, or crowne wrought with flowers of gold, together with a sword, having the hilts and scabert of gold, set with precious stones*. About this time was Bernard Stewart, Lord D'Obigny, president of Tullous, lieutenant of the French men of warre that came into England with King Henry the Seventh, and assisted him valiantly in recovering of the crown.

* *This is the* crown and sword found in the castle of Edinburgh

This foresaid Lord D'Obigny was valiant, and obtained great victories when he was the king's lieutenant in Naples. He dyed in Corstorphin, in Scotland, where he was borne. The king was killed at Flowden in battell, the twenty fifth year of his reign, and was buried in Holyroodhouse.

106. Jacobus *quintus* succeeded his father in the year of the world 5484; in the year of Christ 1514; after the reign 1844. A wise and valiant prince, and severe justiciar: he married Magdalen, daughter to the king of France, who dyed shortly after; then he married Mary of Lorraine, Dutchess of Longeville, daughter to Claud, Duke of Guise, who bare to him two sonnes and one daughter, Mary. Master Patricke Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, Doctor Luther's disciple, was burnt for the gospell. Thereafter the field of Solway-mose was holden, where Oliver Sinclare was lieutenant, and many noblemen taken. The king dyed of displeasure at Falkland, the twenty ninth year of his reign, and was buried at Holyroodhouse.

107. Maria succeeded her father in the year of the world 5513; in the year of Christ 1543; after the reign 1873. A princesse vertuously inclyned; shee married Francis, dolphin, after king of France; after whose death she returned into Scotland, and married Henry Stewart, Duke of Albany, &c. Lord Darnley, a comely prince, sonne to Matthew, Earle of Lennox, (pronepnoy to Henry the Seventh, king of England), to whom she bare Charles, James the Sixt. Afterwards she coming into England, was received with great

humanitie, and after she was captive, at length put to death, the eight of February 1586.

108. Now we come to the reign of a minor king, crowned in his cradle, borne in a turbulent and tempestuous time; yet he shall have the happiness to unite the long divided kingdomes of Briton, in such peace and quyetnesse, as it never injoyed from the first beginning. For although the uniter of the long divided roses lived in peace with the princes his neighbours, yet his entry was by blood, where at Boseworth, neare Leester, he overthrew Richard the Third, called Crookback, the usurper, who afterwards married Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward the Fourth, made an end of these civill warres, and by his issue Margaret, his eldest daughter, married to James the Fourth, who had issue James the Fifth, who had issue Maria, who was heire to the kingdom, and being married to Francis the French king, hee dyed without issue; she tooke to husband Lord Darnley, sonne to Matthew, Earle of Lennox, and Lady Margaret Dowglasse, and of this Henry and Mary queen of Scotland, was begotten James the Sixt, who was borne in the castle of Edinburgh, the 15th of June 1566, to the perpetuall happinesse and felicitie of this long divided island. His minoritie was governed by four regents, viz. Murray, Lennox, Marre, and Mortoun, nobles of high estimation in the commonwealth; ancient by birth, and in counsells wise and politicke. All which bare rule successively in their place, and *were all* (Marre excepted, who died in his bed),

pitifully taken away by untimely ends: worthy were they of farre better, but the times were so tempestuous, and feads and factions so great, that hardly could a well skilled pilote guide himselfe to his knowne port; neither was there wanting in the helme-men, or pilots at the stirrage, skill, courage, constancie, prudencie, providence, wisedome, and forecast, how to eshew rockes, sands, and clifts; but such were the gusts of adversitie, and flawnes of hard fortune, and the turbulencie and barbaritie of the untamed multitude, striving for prioritie and superioritie, that if the Almighty had not at hand planted and propagated this small branch, in time to spread the selfe over the whole island, and to give shelter to the weak under his boughes, from St. Burian to Duncansbay, and from the river of Dee to the river of Yarre. Yet shall he have the happinesse, in despite of all factions and treasons, led by the hand of the Almighty, happily to eshew all dangers whatsoever. And after his reign here, near thirty six yeares, we shall see him called to his inheritance of England, where his entry was with such joy, and his government with such happinesse and calmnesse, that it can be hardly paralelled with any going before, establishing peace, and settling quyetnesse in this long divided and torne countrie, so that there is a higher power that hath dominion over the kingdomes of men, and giveth kingdomes to whomsoever he will, and appointeth over them *whomsoever* he shall please. He was christned at *Striviling the* 18th of September 1566, by the

name of Charles James: his godfathers were Charles the French king, and Philbert, Duke of Savoy, by their ambassadours. The queen of England was godmother by her ambassadour, the Earle of Bedford, who presented a fount of gold weighing 333 unces. He was proclaimed by an herauld of armes, James, by the grace of God, Baron of Ardmanoch and Ranfrow, Lord of the Isles, Earle of Carricke, Duke of Rothsay, prince of Scotland. And because there is but an epitome intended of this king, of whom if all were written, would arise to a greater volume, leaving it to better and more able penmen. He was, the 30th of January 1567, crowned king of Scotland in Striviling, after a sermon preached by John Knox. The Earle of Murray was made regent, and the bishop of Aberdeene proceeded to the coronation. The Earles of Mortoun and Hume gave oath for the king, that he should reign in faith and fear of God, in maintaining the true religion then preached in Scotland. He was anointed and had the royal robe put on him, the crown on his head, the scepter in his hand, and the sword by his syde, and to every one of these were particular prayers made in the Scottish tongue. James, Earle of Murray, was slaine at Linlithgow 1570, by Bothwel-haugh, with a pistol shot, who escaped and fled into France. After his death, there were incursions on the borders on both sides. Thereafter Lennox was killed at Striviling, with Spense of Wormistoun, who laboured to save him. Marre succeeded, who died

Edinburgh the 28 of March, where the King lay for the time. These news were pleasant to the whole nobilitie and commons of Scotland, as also to the nobilitie and commons of England, to whom the name of king was uncouth, because they were governed by queenes fiftie years.

The king called a counsell presently for taking order of all things within the realme of Scotland. Hee began his reign over England the 24th of March 1603. And did so much, that the fifth of April hee set forward his journey towards England. The first night hee went to Dunglasse, an house belonging to my Lord Hume, where hee was royally intertained; the next day hee set forward to Barwicke, where it was incredible what number of people, as well the nobilitie as gentrie of Scotland, accompanied him to Barwick bounds: together with Baron de Toures the French ambassadour, being resident in Scotland for the time. And here the governour of Barwick, with the wardens of the borders, with the constable, and companies of men of war, and the captaines of the horse troopes, met his Majestie to conduct him to the towne of Barwick.

This day was long looked for, and longed after, and truely it was the Lords owne doing, for what could not bee effectuat neither by force nor policie, was peaceably done that day: the praise be given to the Almightie, who hath the *hearts of kings* and kingdomes in his hand. The *Romane, Saxon*, Dane, and English, all wooed *and sought it* by what meanes they could bee *lord superiour* of this island, but the God of peace

in his owne time would bring a king of peace peaceablie, and in that same place where they had wont to meete in most hostile manner, not without bludshed, in the same place they met with such love and joyfull acclamations, mutuall embracings, with all shewes of love and demonstrations of friendship, intertaining his Majestie and his new come guests, with vollyes of small shot, and thundering of great ordnance. Heere at his Majestie's entrie at the gate of Barwick, William Selby, gentleman porter, presented his Majestie the keys of the towne with great humiliation, whom hee honoured with the honour of knighthood, delivering to him the keyes backe againe. Then his Majestie passed forward and was received by the captaines of the wardes, who with their armed bands convoyed him to the market crosse, where the major and his brethren received him, where Christopher Parker, sonne to the recorder, made a speech to him, delivering to his Majestie the charter of the towne, with a purse of gold, in token of their love; all which he graciously received, promising to maintain them and their privileges. After hee went to church, and gave thankes to the Almightie God, who had beene his protector, and made his entrie so peaceable and plausible. At which time there was a sermon preached by Tobie Mathew, bishop of Durham. From the church, his Majestie went to the pallace, where was heard againe a great peale of ordinance, with bone fires; expressing all signes of joy to welcome him; for never b

fore this time was a monarch of Briton lodged within their walles. The next day, sundrie of the nobilitie came from the south to salute him; amongst whom was Henry Howard, brother to the late Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Cobham, and others being accompanied with these. Hee went to the walles viewing the fortifications, and much commending their militarie order, and so returned to his palace. The next day, being the 8th of April, his Majestie removed from Barwick, rewarding everie officer and the souldiers according to their place. And so passing the river of Tweed, he entred Northumberland, where the shireffe of the shire, Sir Nicolas Forrester, received him, and convoyed him to Wethrington, at that time kept by Sir Robert Carie and his lady, where hee was royally intertained. The tenth day he set forward to Newcastle, where the major and his brethren met him, and with humble submission delivered him the sword and keys, in token of their love and obedience, together with a purse of gold. His Majestie returned them the sword and the keyes, ratifying to them their priviledges and customes; and staying there three dayes, he was entertained bountifully upon the towne's charge: in which time his Majestie relieved all prisoners, (treason and poperie excepted), and giving largely to those that lay for debt. The 13th of April his Majestie set forward to Durham, where by the major of the towne hee was *received with* an oration, as in other places: this *night he lodged* in the bishop's house. The 14th

of April his Majestie set forward to the house of Mistresse Genison, called Walworth, where hee was bountifully intertained. The 15th of April his Majestie advanced towards Yorkshyre, where hee was met with by the high shyreffe of the shyre, who attended on him to Master Inglbeis, neere unto Topcliffe. The 16th of April his Majestie set forward toward Yorke, where the shyreffe of the city met him a great way off, at the limits of their libertie, who delivered to his Majestie their whyte staves in token of obedience: his Majestie redelivered them; and conveying him neere unto the citie, the sergeants of the citie met him and delivered their maces, which were delivered backe again; and at the gate the major and aldermen received him with a learned oration, delivering him the sword and keyes, together with a cup of gold, filled with gold: his Majestie delivered the keyes to the major, but about the sword there was some difference betwixt the major and the lord president of his Majestie's counsell of Yorke; but his Majestie took it from them both, and delivered it to George Earle of Cumberland, who carried it from the gate to the minster; from the minster his majestie went upon foote under a canopie, supported by four knights, to his owne house, where hee was bountifully feasted by my Lord Burleigh, during his abode there. The 17th of April he went on foote to the minster, where hee heard a sermon preached by the Deane of Yorke, Bishop of Limbrick; so after the sermon returned to the palace on foote.

The 19th day of April his Majestie was feasted by the lord major, where hee was bountifully intertained: his Majestie knighted him by the name of Sir Robert Walter. After dinner, his Majestie commanded all prisoners to be set at libertie, (wilfull murtherers, traytors, and papists, being excepted). From Yorke hee removed to Grimstone, the house of Sir Edward Stanhope, one of his Majestie's counsell at Yorke, where hee was bountifully intertained that night, and dyning the next day, being the 20th day, he advanced toward Doncaster, where by the way his Majestie tooke view of his house at Pomfret; his Majestie lodged at Doncaster at the signe of the beare. The 21st day of April his Majestie removed to Worsope, the Earle of Shrewsberry his house, where by the way the high shyreffe of the countrie of Nottingham conducted him to Worsope, where hee was royally intertained on the Earle's charge. The 22d day of April his Majestie advanced towards New-warke upon Trent, lodging in the castle by the way; he was met with by the corporation of the towne, who presented him with foure white cups: and heere there was a cutpurse taken in the act, who having great store of gold about him, confessed hee had convoyed his Majestie from Barwicke; there was a warrand given to hang him, releasing all prisoners beside. The 22d his Majestie set forward to Belvoyre, the Earle of Rutland his house. The 23d he advanced to Burleigh, where hee was bountifully intertained, which day being Easter day, he heard

a sermon preached by the Bishop of Lincolne. The 24th day his Majestie removed to Hinchinburgh, the house of Sir Oliver Crumwell, where by the way he dyned at the house of Sir Antonie Myldmay, who omitted no dutie in expressing his love; the dinner being done, hee presented his Majestie with a fair Barbarie horse in rich furniture sutable. Then his Majestie rode towards Huntington, where the baillies of the towne met him, deliveringe him the sword with an oration: his Majestie delivered the sword to Southampton to be borne, who carried the same to the house of Sir Oliver Crumwell, where his entertainment was noble and bountifull; and heere some of the universitie of Cambridge attended his Majestie, where one of them delivered him a learned oration in Latine, welcoming his Majestie, intreating the confirmation of their priviledges, which his Majestie most willingly granted. Heere Sir Oliver Crumwell presented him with a faire cup of gold, a goodly horse, deepe mouthed hounds, swift haulkes of excellent wings, bestowing gold liberally amongst the king's officers. The 29th his Majestie set forward to Roystoun, where by the way the king's free tennents of good Manchister met him with 50 pleughes, holding their land so, that when the king shuld first enter their towne that way, to present his Majestie with so many pleughes, in token of their husbandrie and obedience to their king: his Majestie tooke it kindly, and was glad hee was the land lord of so many good tennents, desiring them to make good use of their pleughes

and husbandrie; neere hand hee was met by the high shyreffe of Hartfordshire, Sir Edward Denny, accompanied with a gallant traine, who also presented his Majestie with a stately horse, with a rich saddle and furniture of great value, which his Majestie graciously accepted, commanding the shyreffe to mount the horse and ryde on him, which hee did, convoying him to Master Chester's house, where his Majestie lay that night on his owne charge. The 30th his Majestie rode to Standon, the house of Sir Thomas Sadlers, where upon the way the bishop of London met him with a goodly companie of gentlemen in tawnie coats; and staying heere all Sunday, he heard a sermon made by the said bishop. The 2d of May he removed to the house of Sir Henry Cocks, late cofferer to Queene Elizabeth. Here also met him the lord keeper, the lord admirall, with most of the counsell of estate, with many of the nobilitie. Heere the lord keeper delivered a learned oration congratulatorie, the which his Majestie answered with great grace and wisedome: his intertainment heere was wonderfull bountifull. The 3d day of May hee came to Theobalds, the house of Sir Robert Cicile, principall secretarie to the late queene, where hee was bountifully intertained; and heere there met his Majestie, his guard, and many other of his officers, which his Majestie graciously received, and heere his Majestie made sundry of his nobles of Scotland of his counsell of England, the Duke of Lennox, the Earle of Marre, the Lord Hume, Sir George Hume, treasurer of Scotland, Sir James Elphingston, secre-

tarie, and Sir Edward Bruce, afterwards master of the rolles of England. And one of the English nobilitie he made of his counsell, Henry Howard, brother to the late Duke of Norfolk, and Thomas Lord Howard, sonne to the said Duke, whom hee also made chamberlane of his house, and after Earle of Suffolke; as also hee made the said Lord Howard of Marnehill, and afterward Earl of Northampton, as also Charles Blunt, Lord Montjoy, who (for his valour) in expelling the Spanish forces out of Ireland, under the command of Don John of Aquila, and overthrowing the rebellious Irish under the command of Tyron, neere to Kinsayle, hee made him Earle of Devonshyre. Heere his Majestie stayed at Theobaldes foure dayes, where he was most bountifully intertained, honouring this Sir Robert Cicile with the titles of Baron of Essenden, Vicount Cranburne, and Earle of Salisburie, and afterwards great thesaurer of England. The 7th of May his Majestie set from thence to London, where within three miles of London, John Swinertoun, shyreffe of London, as also shyreffe of Middlesex, where was delivered to him a learned oration by Master Martin, gentleman of Middle Temple; the shyreffe convoyed him to Sandford hill, being about three miles from London. Here the lord major of London, with the aldermen, met him in scarlet robes and gold chaines, with 500 of the citie clad in black velvet and gold chaines. The Duke of Lennox here carried the *sword before* his Majestie; and so taking the

next way over the fields, he entred the charter-house belonging to the Lord Thomas Howard, staying there foure nights. The 11th of May the king rode from the charter house to Whytehall, and from thence to the tower of London.

It is to be observed, that all the way the king rode from Edinburgh to London, he gave testimonies of love and mercie to all his loving subjects; mercie in relieving all prisoners whereso-ever he came, and honouring such a number with knighthood, as in some places twentie, and in some thirtie, and in some fourtie, and at the charter-house eightie. As also restoring sundrie families to their lands, honours, and dignities. This the king's so joyful and peaceable entry was seconded from all the princes of Europe, to congratulate his peaceable entry to his lawfull inheritance, being now sole monarch of the whole island: from the French king Monsieure de Rosenay; from the king of Spaine John Baptista de Taxis, Conde de villa Mediana; from the Arch-duke Albertus, Count of Aramberg; as also from the Emperour, from the kings of Poland, Sweden, and Denmarke; from the Dukes of Savoy and Florence; from the duke and estate of Venice; from the estates of the low countries; from the Palse grave of the Rhyne; and from all the rest of the princes of Germanie: and because I intend *but an epitome*, and cannot relate every thing in *the due place*. Hee had ambassadours from the *Persian*, from the Great Turke, from the king of *Fez and* Moracco; yea, hee was visited by many

princes in person, the prince of Vaudamont, the Dukes of Brunswick and Wittenberg, and many other, tedious to rehearse. The Duke of Holsten came to visite him; as also the king of Denmarke came twise in person, where he was royally intertained.

Scarse was the queene's death made knowne, when presently the borderers made incursions on both sides, the which was called the bussie week. The king, to take away all discontent from his subjects, sent downe the Lord Hume with the title of lieutenant, to take away all disordered and insolent persons that had lived upon robberie. The Lord Hume in short time clensed the borders of many licentious persons. Afterward Sir George Hume being made Baron of Barwick and Earle of Dumbar, being also lieutenant of the middle shyres, made choyse of my Lord Cranston to bee captaine of the guard, who did so much by his care and vigilance, that a number of out lawes were brought to the place of execution, where after lawfull assise they had a reward of their forepast follies. Whose names and surnames for brevity wee omit, some of them who might have lived upon their rent, if so they could have beene content; but so prone were they to imbred vyce, received from their forefathers, and drunken in their adolescencie, they never leave off their first foot steps, while they runne headlong to their owne destruction.

TO THE AUTHOR.

The Romane Tullie, rose of all that race,
Of facund Mercurs; boldly unaffrayde
In Milos fence, to Clodius deface
This sacred sentence in the senate sayd:
Nought only for ourselves we're borne to toyle,
But for our friends, and for our native soyle.

Thou wisely weighed hes these words I finde,
Thou cairs to cleere thy countrey from obscure;
To please thy friends, thou fram'st thy wit and minde,
And by thy light thy countries light is pure.
She brought thee forth to light, thou takes like paine,
Who made thee see, to make her shine againe.

W. T.

A

TRUE DESCRIPTION AND DIVISION

OF THE

WHOLE REALME OF SCOTLAND,

OF THE SITUATION, DISTANCE, AND COMMODITIES IN EVERIE PART THEREOF, AND OF THE PRINCIPALL CITIES, TOWNES, ABBEYES, PALACES, FORTS, CASTLES, TOWERS, AND RIVERS.

SCOTLAND is divided from England by certaine marches, from the east sea, called the Scottish sea, to the west seas, called the Irish sea, from the mouth of Tweed, upon the same river, till it come betwixt Werke and Hadden, where the march leaves the river, and passeth south west by dearn wayes, known only to the inhabitants of that country, till it come to Redden-burne, or water, and so up the said burne, while it come to the height of the Fells of Cheviot, and so west by the tops of the Fells, till a march ditch, called the march ditch, and so ending the meir ditch, till it fall in the river of Carshope, and downe Carshope, while it fall in Liddail, and downe Liddail, while Eske and Liddail meete, and taking affe at the north side of Eske, goeth *a ditch, while* it come to the river of Sarke, and

so downe Sarke, while it fall in Sulway, where the waters of Annan and Nith, running severally in Sulway, all in one channell in the Irish sea, make plentie of fishes; also by flowing and ebbing of furious tides, made through many lands ends, and partly by inundation of the said waters, there are very dangerous quicke sandes, called Sulway sandes, that no man may safely passe over them without perill, (except they have one accustomed guyde), because of sinking holes that are frequent in them, being every tyde overflowed with the sea. The travellers which travell that way, take their journey through them at a low or ebbe water. If any man or horse fall in, his fellow travellers casting their clokes, or other clothes, about that part where hee sinkes in, and so running often about, the sand swells up in a height, and so vomits out that which is fallen in the sinking hole. Upon the banks of Sulway, in June and July, the countrie people gather up the sand within the flood marke, bringing it to land, and laying it in great heapes; thereafter, they make the salt spring water, and cast it upon the sand, (with a certaine device), causing the water to run through the sand into a hollow pit, purposely made to receive the water; which water being boyled in a little vessel of lead, there is made thereof good whyte salt, after the temperance of the weather. This place is called the Salt Coates.

The reason of the variation of the foresaid *marches,* was upon diverse debates and controversies arysing betwixt the borders of both the

realmes, which being referred to the arbitriment of sundry commissioners of both the nations, were set down according to the power of the partyes. Thus the marches are set foorth particularly, beginning at the Mers, wherein at the mouth of Tweede, stands the ancient and martiall towne of Barwicke, and a strong castle, well walled and strenthned, the chief towne of the Mers, the Scottish sea on the east. Next is the towne of Haymouth, the towne and abbey of Coldingham, the strong castle of Eastcastle, Ayton, Hutonhall, Blaketer, Elbaike, Gradoun, Spilaw, Lamden, Weddurben, Manderston, Brumhouse, Easter and Wester Nisbets, the townes of Duns and Langtoun, with their castles, the abbeys of Coldstreame and Ecclis, with the house thereof, Billie, Blenerne, Butterden, Comlage, Cockeburne, Rippet, Lochermagus, the castle of Craighome, the Earle of Home's special residence, Mallerstanes, Whitrig, the Greene Know, the two Pollarts, Grindlay, Wedderly, Spottiswoode, Thornedykes, Crosby, Huntley-wood, Bassenden, and Coldenknowes. The rivers in the Mers are, Ei, Whittiture, Blakitur, and Edmen water. This countrie is plenteous and aboundant in all things necessary for the use of man.

West from the Mers lyes Teviotdaill, Liddisdail, Ewisdail, Eskdal, Wauchopdail and Annandail, taking their names from Tiot, Liddil, Ews, Eske, Waucope, and Annan, running severally through the sayd dailes. In Teviotdail lyes the ancient castle of Roxburgh, the Friers Bridg

end, the Loch-house, Coabat, Cesfard, the Lord Roxburgh's residence; Gradane, Gaitschaw, Mowe, Hadden, the Mosse Tower, Crailing, Crailinghall, Litle-dean, Mackerstoun, the towne and abbey of Kelso, Fluires, the towne and abbey of Jedburgh, Brown-jedwart, Ferne-herst, Ancrum, Langnewtowne, Newtone, Bed-reull, Minto, Hunthill, Hundely, Edzarstoun, the towne and abbey of Melrose, the towne and abbey of Driburgh, the towne of Hawicke, Laiwers, Ormistoun, Branxholme, the Balcleuchs residence; Haliden, Riddell, Faldounside, Greene-heade, with many other strong stone houses upon the water of Eall. The rivers in Teviotdail are, Tiot, Tweed, Kail, Aushnum, Jed, Rewll, Slitrig, Borthwicke, and Eall.

In Liddisdail is the ancient castle of Harmelage, Prickinhauch, Mangerstowne, and Whittow. In Eskdail is the castle of Langhome.

In Annandail is the castle of Lochmabane, inviroued with a number of loches, replenished with divers goodly fishes. The townes of Annandail are, the towne of Annanwick, an old castle, the towne of Lochmabane, the towne of Meffat, Bonschaw, New Bred-kirke, Hoddon, Howmanis, and Hoddamstans; next standeth the watch tower of repentance, Loch-house, Lochwod, Speldings, Ros, and Kirk-Michal. The rivers in Annandail *are,* Annan, Sark, Kirtil Milke, Ey, Kinnill, *Ewan,* and Moffat, a fertil countrie, and good *for pastoring.* West from Annandail lyes Nid*disdaile,* taking the name from the water of Nith *where* stands the towne and castle of Dumfris

with a pleasant bridge of large fine stones; the towne and castle of Sanquhar, the Lord Sanquhar's speciall residence; the towne of Disdeare, the colledge of Lincluden, the abbey of Haliwood. In Niddisdaile are diverse ancient houses and castles demolished; and yet standing, the strong castle of Carlaverocke, Cumlungen, Muswell, Torthorraill, the Lord Torthorraile's residence; Hempsfield, Dalswinton, Closburne: the castles of Drumlainrig, Disdeir, Mortoun, Glen, Carne, Caschogill, and Dawyn. North from Niddisdaile lyeth Cliddisdaile, taking the name from the river Clyde, beginning at Crawfurd Moore, wherein lyes the ancient castle of Crawford; next lyes Crawford-John, Dowglasdaile, Ewendaile, Carnewath moore, Bedwell moore. The townes of Cliddisdaile are, Lanerk, Hammiltoun towne and pallace, the Marquesse of Hammilton's speciall residence, with the castle, Bouthwell, with the colledge, and Dazell; the city and castle of Glasgow, the archbishop's seat, very populous, with a sumptuous cathedrall church, containing a lower and over church, covered with lead, also a flourishing universitie in liberall sciences and theologie: adjacient to this citie is a large stone bridge over the river Clyde, wherein falles diverse other rivers, as Ewan, Mouse, Dowglas, Lismehago, with an abbey of the same name; the water of Ewan, the water of Cadder, the two Meddens, and Cutter water. In Clyddisdaile is the ancient castle of *Dowglasse*, the Earle of Angusse his speciall residence; Carmichael, Symington, Covington, C

rous, the castle of Crawford-John, Lamingtoun, Coutheley, the strong castle of Draffan. This countrie is very plentifull of all necessaries. In the over ward of Clyddisdaile, there is a hill or mount, whereout spring three rivers, Tweed, running in the Scottish sea, Annan, in the Irish sea, and Clyde in the great ocean. South east from Cliddisdaile, lyeth Tweddaile, named so from Tweede; the speciall towne is Peblis, with a religious house, called the Crosse Church; the towne of Bigger, with the castle; the towne of Lintoune, the castle of Drochels, with the strong castle of Neidpeth, the Lord Zester's residence; Traquaire, Grisum, Ormstoun, Cardrono, Horseburgh, Henderstoun, Dawicke, Drumelzer, Skirling, Possow, Smithfield, Cringilty, Dearnehall, Furde, Halkschaw, Glenkirke, Langland hill, Hartrie, Romanno, Coltcoat. The waters in Tweddaile are, Tweede, Quaire, Maner, Bigger, Tarfe, Lyne, Peblis water, and Lithnops. This countrey is good for pastorage. East from Tweddaile lyeth Heriot moore, the Stow, Galla water, and Lauderdaile, with the towne and castle of Lawder; taking the name from the water of Lidder, with Kairefrae, their being pendicles of other shires, wherein are sundry strong stone houses, for brevity I omit to descrive. South from Tweddaile lieth Forrest shyre, the speciall towne is Selkirke, Hayning, Philip-hauch, Sunderland-hauch, the Zair, Elibanke, Hanginschaw, Teinis, Arkewood, *Kirkehope*, Tuschelaw, Thielstane, the two Suin-*lous, Eik*schaw, Huntly, Witschland, Galaschiels,

Whithanke, Blindly, the old castle of Newark. There are two goodly rivers, Zara and Ethrick, both falling in Tweed; Zara runneth out of a great loch, called the Loch of the Lows, wherein is aboundance of fishes. This countrie is also good for pastorage.

Louthian, taking the name from Loth, king of Picts, is divided from the Mers by one part called the Eyster peece, and by Lammer-mure on the south, from Tweddale on the south west. In East Lowthian is the castle of Dunglasse, Innerwick, Broxmouth, Spot, Beltane, Beill, Smetoun, the old castle, Benistoun, Morum, Stanipeth, Whittingham, Linplum, Whitlaw, Nunraw, the old castle of Zeister, Bothens, the Lord Zester's residence; Harmestoun, Blanch, Samelstoun, Saltoun, Penkathlane, Keith, Humby, Wintoun, Ormestoun, the two Cranstouns, Falahall, the castles of Creichtoun and Borthuick; the Lord Borthuik's residence. The townes in Louthian are Dumbar, with an old castle, the towne of Tuningham, with the house thereof; Skwgall, Adam, Gleghorne, Whitkirk, Furde, the Lord Haliroodhouse residence; the strong castle of Tamtalon, the craig of Bagone, Wauchtowne, North Berwick, with an abbey, Dirltoun, with the castle, the tower of Fentoun, Congiltoun, Salt Coats, Luthnes, the towne of Abirlady, with the house adjoyning, Gosfurde, Readhouse, Byrs, Grantoun, Gilmertoun, Bancreiff, Seitoun, with the pallace, the Earle of Wintoun's residence; Hadingtoun, with an abbey, Lethingtoun, the

Lord Thirlstane's residence; Clerkington, Colston, Elwingston, Elphingstoun, Falside, Carbary, Smetoun, Monton, Meling, Arnestoun, Tempill, Gilmertoun, Montlothian, Morfat, Newhall, the castle of Rosling, Dredden, Sowtran Abbey, the towne of Preston, with the tower, the towne of Prestoun-pannes, Prestoun-grange, the townes of Tranent, Mussilburgh, and Inneresk, the house of Pinky and Walafield, the towne of Dalkeith, with the castle, the Earle of Morton's residence; the towne of Newbottell, with the abbey, well builded, the Earle of Louthian's residence; the castle of Dalhoussy, the towne of Leith, a commodious haven for ships, and the sea-port of Edinburgh, right well shipped.

Edinburgh, the speciall and head burgh in Scotland, chiefe justice seat of the realme, strongly builded with stone. The most part of the houses are five, sixe, or seven stories high, wherein is a goodly universitie, florishing in all sciences for instruction of the youth, fortified on the west with a most strong castle, builded upon a high rocke, kept by the king's captaines, which castle commands the said burgh, called of old the Maiden Castle, founded by Cruthneus Camelon, the first king of Picts, before the birth of our Saviour 330 yeres, circuit upon the east, south, and west, with a stone wall, and upon the north strengthned with a loch. It is also decored with the king's pallace and abbey of Holyroodhouse, upon the *east part:* within seven miles to the burgh, upon *the east,* south, and west parts, and within two

miles upon the north part, there is of noble and gentlemens palaces, castles, and strong builded towers and stone houses, (not as yet nominated), above an hundred. Also the towne of Cramond, lying upon Almond. The rivers in Lothine are, Tyne, Aske, the water of Leith, the water of Almond. Lothian is very plenteous and right aboundant in all things necessarie for the use and sustentation of man.

Next East Lothian, lyes in West Lothian the shirrefdome of Linlithgow, with the castles of Barnbugall, Cragyhall, Dundas, towne of Queenes Ferrie, Didestown, Newlistoun, Kirklistoun, the castle of Neddry, Haltoun, Damahoy, Curryhill, Lennox, Ricarton, the castle and pallace of Cadder, Torphican, Kinneil, Burrestonnesse, the strong forts and castles of Blacknes, the old castle of Abircorne, the towne of Linlithgow, and the king's pallace, most sumptuously builded, with a pleasant and commodious parke, and loch under the palace wall: Bullinhard, Neutoun, Duntarwy, Bathcart, Graing, Pardoven, Inchmachan, Medop, Aven water, whereon there is a stone bridge, devides Sterling shyre from West Lothian at the south, the Firth of Forth at the north, which firth peece and peece becomes narrow, till it grow to the quantitie of a reasonable river, neere unto Striviling bridge. There is but one water worthie to make account of that runnes through it, named Carron. There are two little earthen knols builded, as may appeare, by men, (*being ancient* monuments), called Duini pacis.

that is, the knols of peace. Two miles downward, upon the same water, there is a round building without lime, made of hard stone, in such sort, that one part of the uppermost stones are indented with the stone that lyes directly under it, so that the whole work, by this conjunction mutuall, and burthen of the stones, upholds it selfe, growing narrow by little and little from the ground to the head, where it is open like a dove-coat. The common people call it Arthur's oven. Upon Carron was situate the famous citie of Camelon, chiefe city of the Picts, founded by Cruthneus Camelon, afore the birth of Christ 330 yeres, destroyed by King Kenneth the Great, about the yeare of Christ 846. In this countrie is the abbey of Manwell, the castles of Haning, Powmile, and Cummernald, the Earle of Wigtown's residence, with the wood, the Torewood, and Torewood side, the towne of Falkirk, the castles of Kers and Calender, the Earle of Linlithgow's residence; the castles of Donipace, Harbertshyre, West Quarter, Arth, Poffowls, Carnoke, Bruse castle, the palace of Elphingstowne, the Lord Elphingstone's residence; Easter and Wester Polmais, Polton, Carse, Throsk, and Chartrishall; the ancient towne, with the most strong fortresse and castle, and sumptuous palace of Striviling, builded upon a high rock, with a pleasant and commodious park under the castle wall. In this shyre are the castles and towers of Towch, Gargunnok, *Broich, Lekke*, Dundaffe, Kilsyth, Manners, and *Powes. Beyond* the bridge of Striviling, lyes the

abbey of Cambuskinneth, with the castle, the towne and castle of Alloway, the towne and castle of Clackmannan, the castles of Tulliallan and Sawchy, Blair, Valeyfield, Kynneder, Aikinhead, Menstre, the towne and abbey of Culrosse, with the new builded palace. Next adjacent to Striviling shire, lies Lennox, devided from the barony of Renfrew by Clyde, from Glasgow by the water of Kelvin, at the foote of the hilles of Grangebean, Loch-Lowmond, runnes downe a low valley, foure and twenty miles of length, and eight of bredth, having more than twenty foure islands within the same.

This loch, besides abundance of other fishes, hath a kind of fish of the owne, named Powan, very pleasant to eate. The water of Levin runneth out of Loch-Lowmond southward, running so strong, that no man (without danger) may passe the same. Levin entreth into Clyde neere to the most strong and invincible fortresse and castle of Dumbarton, standing upon verie high rocks, with abundance of fresh water springs; one spring being in summer wholsome cold, and in winter sweet warme, no rocke nor hill being within more than a mile to the foresaid strength and castle. Next adjacent is the towne of Dumbarton, pleasantly situat upon the river of Levin, the speciall towne in the duchy of Lennox, within the which there are many strong castles, towers, and stone houses, as the castles and towers of Kirkmichael, Rosdo, Tarbat, Arnecaple, Kilmahow, Ardeth, Kilmaranoch, Buquannane, Drum-

makeil, Craigivarne, Ballindalloch, Killcrock, Balglas, Fentrie, Duntreith, Craigbarnut, Gloret, Woodhed, Cochnoch, Balquhannaran, Drumry, Dunglasse, with sundrie others tedious to declare.

The Duke of Lennox is superiour to the most part of the gentlemen inhabitants in this countrie, and many in the barony. Next lyes the barony of Renfrew, taking the name from the towne of Renfrew, wherein the session of justice is kept to the country. It is devided in the midst by two waters, Carth and Gryff. The towne of Paislay is pleasantly situat upon the river Carth, with the abbey thereof, the Earle of Abircorne's speciall residence, with most pleasant orchards and gardens. In this countrie lyes the castle of Sempill, the Lord Semplis speciall residence; the castles and towers of Crukstone, Marns, Catchcart, Hag, Upper Polloke and Nether Polloke, Hakket, the Lord Ros residence; Cardonald, the Lord of Blantyre's residence; Blackhall, Caldwell, Stanelie, Ellersly, Johnstowne, Waterstowne, Ramturley, Dochail, Raalstowne, Biltries, Craigans, Houstoun, Barrochane, Dargewell, Blackstoun, Selwiland, Walkinshaw, Inchchennan, Arskin, Bishoptoun, Boghall, Fynlastoun, New-werke, Grinoke, Ardgowan, Glengarnoch, and Lady-land, with many other strong stone houses, tedious to rehearse. These countries aforesaid are plenteous in cornes, beastial, and fishings. Next lyes Cuningham, *divided from* Kyle by the water of Urwine; at *the foote* thereof is situate the towne of Urwine, *a goodly* marchant towne, with a strong stone

bridge, the towne of Kilmarnocke, the towne and castle of Kilmars, the Earle of Glencarne's residence; the towne and castle of Newmils, the towne of Salt Coats, where great store of white salt is made, the towne of Largs, the towne and abbey of Kilwinning, the castle of Deane, the Lord Boydes residence; the castle and palace of Lowdon, the Lord Lowdon's speciall residence; the castle of Eglingtowne, Kirelaw, Ardrossin, the Earle of Eglington's residence; Cuninghamhead, Blair, Robertland, Gyffine, Eastwood, Calwell, Rowallen, Low, Fairly, Kelburne, Arneil, Knock, Skelmurly. In the towne of Urwine the judge ordinarily holds justice. Kyle and Cuningham were called of old Siluria. Their countries are fertill in cornes and bestiall. Next lyes Kyle, divided from Carrick by the water of Downe, which descends out of Loch-downe, wherein there is a strong tower builded upon an isle. This water runnes west in the Firth of Clyde. In the midst of Kyle runnes the water of Air, which devides Kyle in King's Kyle, and Kyle Stewart, a part of the prince's principality. At the mouth of the water, on the south side, is situate the ancient marchant towne of Aire, taking the name from the water, the principall burgh of the whole shyre, pleasantly builded in a plaine field, hard on the sea, verie populous, and well shipped, with faire stone houses, most covered with blew sklate, with a large stone bridg passing to the new towne of Air, with a castle and palace. The towne and castle of Machling, the towne and castle of Cun

nok, the towne of Presik, the justice seat of Kyle Stewart, the townes of Gastown and Ricardtown, the castles of Dundonald, Sundrum, the Lord of Cathcart's residence; the castles of Ochiltrie, with the towne, the Lord Ochiltre's residence; the castles of Caprintoun, Gaitgirth, Cragie, Entirkin, Gastoun, Sesnocke, Carnal, Bar, Lochnories, Terringean, Cars, Drongane, Sorne, Dregorne, Sornbeg, Monton, Affleck, and Barskymmin, the loch of Martuane, with a strong tower, Loch-Fergus, with an isle, with many growing trees, where great plentie of herons resort, with the Loch Feal; there is a decayed monasterie in it. The rivers in Kyle are, Air, Luggar, Feal, and Sesnocke; Luggar and Feal runnes in the water of Air, and so in the Firth of Clyde. The water of Sesnocke runnes in the water of Urwine, and so in Clyde. This countrie abounds in strong and valiant men, where was borne the most renowned and valiant champion William Wallace, in the barony called Ricardtoun, then his father's style, thereafter of Craigy and Ricardtown. Five miles from Air is a place called Coel's field, where the king of Britons, called Coel, was killed by the Scots and Picts, upon the water of Downe. This countrie is plenteous of beastiall, with abundance of cornes. Next Kyle lyes Carricke, bordering with Galloway, under the Lochrean, of old called Loch-Calpin, declyning while it come to Clydisfirth: in Carricke are two goodly waters, plen*teous* of fishes, the water of Stinchar; at the foote *thereof* stands the towne of Ballintrea, where is

great plentie of herrings and other fishes; the castles of Arstinchar, Craigneil, builded upon a strong rocke, with the castle of Knockdolean. Upon the water of Girwan are the castles of Bargeny, Blairquhan, Dalwharran, Cassils, Dunure, the Earle of Cassil's residence; the castles of the Koe, Ardmillane, Carletowne, Killoquhan, Baltessane, Keirs, Auchendrane, the abbey of Corfraguel. There was a goodly marchant towne, of old called Carricke, founded by Caratake, king of Scots, whereof remaines nothing; the principall towne is now Mayeboll, where the judge ordinarily holds justice. Next adjacent with Carricke lyes Galloway, of old called Brigantia, bordering with Niddisdaile, almost declyning to the south, the shyre whereof inclosed; all the rest of that side of Scotland is more plentifull store of bestiall than cornes. The waters of Galloway are, Ure, Dee, Terfe, Fleit, Kenne, Cree, and Losse, which runne all in the Ireland sea. There is almost no great hills in Galloway, but it is full of craggie knols; the waters gathering together in the valleyes betwixt those knols, make almost innumerable loches, from whence the first floud that comes before the autumnall equinoctiall, causeth such abundance of waters to run, that there come foorth of the said loches incredible number of eeles, and are taken by the countriemen in wand creeles, who salting them, obtaine no small gain thereby. The farthest part of that side is the Head, called Novantum, under the *which there is* a haven at the mouth of the water

of Lossie, named Rerigonins. In the other side of Galloway, over against this haven from Cliddisforth, there enters another haven, named commonly Lochryen, or Vidogora; all that lyeth betwixt those two havens, the country people call the Ryndes, that is, the point of Galloway; also Novantum, the Mule, that is, the Beeke. In Galloway are the townes of Kirkcudbright, well situate for a marchant towne, a good harbery, with a castle. Whithorne is the bishop's seat there. Wigtoun, a goodly market towne, the towne of Innermessane, Minigooff, and St. John's Clachane. The abbey of New Abbey, Glenluse, Sallsyde, Dundrenan, and Tongland; the castles of the Treave, Barcloy, Hills, Orchardtoun, Bomby in Loch-Fergus, Cumpstoun, Cardenes, Wreythis, Kenmure, Kirkgunze. The great strength and castle of Crowgiltoun, builded on a rock hard on the sea; the castles of Garlies, Large, the great castle of Clare, the castles of Dunskay, Corsell, Lochnee. The loches of Galloway are, Rubinfranco, Carlingworke, Myretown, which never freeses, for any frost that chances.

The westmost of the hills of Grangebean, make the borders of Lennox; the hills are cutted by a little bosome of the sea, named for the shortnesse thereof, Gerloch; at the entry thereof standeth the castle of Roseneth; beyond this loch there is a greater loch, named from the water that runneth in it, Loch-Lowng; this water is the march betweene Lennox and Cowall: this Cowall, Argyle, and Knapdail, altogether called Argyle, are

divided in many parts by many narrow creekes that runne out of the Firth of Clyde into them. In Cowall is the castle and towne of Dunnone, where is the Bishop of Argile his seat: there is one most notable loch, called Lochfyne, which is in length three score miles; upon Lochfyne is situate the castle, palace, and towne of Inararay, the principall residence of the Earle of Argyle; also doth the shyreffe of Argyle keepe his courts of justice. This loch is most plentifull of herrings and all other fishes. On this loch are situate diverse castles and gentlemens places, as Castle Laughlan, the Oiter, and Dunetrewne. In Knagdall is Loghow, and therein a little isle, where there is a strong castle of the same name; there is also the castle of Tarbat. In Argyle is the strong castle of Carricke, builded upon a rocke within Lochgoyle; there is also the college of Kilmun. The water of Awe runneth out of Loch-how, and is the onely water of all that countrie that doe runne in the Deucalidon sea. South and by west from Knapdall, lyeth Kintire. The head land of the countrie right over against Ireland, devided by the sea of the breadth of 16 miles only. In Kyntire are the castles of Dunaverty and Sadell, the towne and castle of Kilkerraine, situat in the loch of the same name: Kintyre is more long than broad, joyning to Knapdall by so narrow a throat, about one mile of bredth, which ground is sandy, and lyeth so plain and low, that marriners drawing along their vessels, as gallies and boats, through it, make the

journey a great deale shorter than to passe about Kintyre, which is the common passage. Lorne lyes next, and contaygue with Argile, on the back thereof, where standeth the most ancient castle of Dunstaffage, in which were the kings of Scotland in old times crowned, where also the fatall marble chayre remained more than one thousand yeares. In Lorne are also the castles of Cornacery and that of Makdules, built upon a right rockie mountaine. The countrie of Argyle, Knapdall, and Cowell, doe abound of beastiall, kye, sheepe, and great store of venison, and abundant in fishes. Lorne marcheth still with Argyle, until it come to Haber, or rather Loch-haber; a plain countrie, not unfruitfull. The countrie where the hills of Grangebean bee, are most easie to be travelled, named Broad-Albin, that is to say, the highest part of Scotland; and the highest part of Broad-Albion is called Drumalbin, that is, the backe of Scotland, so termed, for forth of the backe, waters doe run in both the seas, some to the north, and some south: Haber, or rather Lochaber, marcheth with Badzenoch, which hath as it were a backe running out through the midst of it, which spouts forth water in both the seas. Lochaber marching with Badzenoch, tendeth by little and little towards the Deucalidon sea: a countrie aboundant in cornes, and great plenty of fishes, *for beside* the abundance of fresh water fishes, *produced* by a great number of waters, the sea *runnes within* the countrie in a long channel, and *being narrow* at the mouth, the water kept in be-

twixt two high banks, and spreading wide inward, makes the forme of a stank, or rather of a loch, a place where ships may lye sure as in a haven. Adjacent with Clackmananshyre, lyes Fiffe, beginning at the towne of Torre-burne, with the castles of Torre, Crumby, Pitfirran, Pittincreiff, the towne of Dunfermling, and abbey thereof, founded by King David the First. The kings of Scotland were buried there a long time: the palace thereof now repayred by the king's majesties command and charges, where the Earle of Dunfermling, chancellor of Scotland, had his residence. The towne of Lymkellis, with the castle of Rossyth, the towne of the Queensferry upon the north. In the middle of Forth, upon a rock, is the fortresse and decayed castle of Inchgarvy. By east lies, in the same water, St. Colm's Inch, with a demolished abbey, abundant with conies, and good pasturing for sheep. Next in the mid Firth, lyes Inchkeith, with a demolished fortressie, fertile of conies, and gud for pasturing of sheep. East from Inchkeith, within Forth, lyes a verie high and big rock, invironed with the sea, called the Basse, invincible, having upon the top a fresh spring, where the Solaine geese repayre much, and are very profitable to the owner of the said strength. Next the Basse, in mouth of Forth, lyes the Isle of May, a mile long, and three quarters of a mile in bredth. There was a religious house, with many fresh water springs, with a fresh loch, abundant with eeles. This Isle is a goodly refuge for saylers in time of tempest.

By east the Isle of May, twelve miles from all land, in the Germayne seas, lyes a great hidden rocke, called Inchcape, very dangerous for navigators, because it is overflowed everie tide. It is reported, in old times, upon the said rocke there was a bell fixed upon a tree or timber, which rang continually, being moved by the sea, giving notice to the saylers of the danger. This bell or clocke was put there, and maintained by the abbot of Aberbrothok, and being taken down by a sea pirate, a yeare thereafter he perished upon the same rocke with ship and goods, in the righteous judgement of God. Returning to the auncient towne of Innerkething, adjoyning thereto, is the most comfortable and safe refuge for saylers in time of storme, called St. Margaret's hope, Dunnybersill, Dalgatie, and Fordell, the towne and castle of Aberdour, the loch of Cowstoun, Otterstoun, the towne of Brunt-island, with the castle; the castles of Balmuto, Balwery, Hall-zairdes, and Raith; the towne and castle of Kingorne, the castles of Seyfield and Abbotshall, the towne of Kirkcaldie, the castles of Bogy and Ravens-hench, the Lord Sinclaris speciall residence; the towne of Dysart, the towne of Westerwems, and the castle, the castle of Easterwems, the Lord Colweill his chief residence; the townes of Buckhaven and Levyns mouth, so named from the river of Levin, which comes out of Loch-Levin, the towne of Kenneway, the castles of *Dury, Lundy*, and Largow, with the town thereof; the castles of Rires, Bulchares, and Kinno-

char, with the loch thereof, the town of Earles Ferry, the castles of Kelly and Ardrosse, the towne of Eli, with a commodious harbery, the towne and castle of St. Monanes, Carnbie, and Balkaskie, the towne and abbey of Pittenweme, the Lord of Pittinweme's residence; the townes of Anstruther, with the castle, the towne of Abercromby, taking the name from the ancient name of Abercromby, in King Malcolme Canmore's dayes; Busy, Pitterthy, the townes of Innergelly and Silver-dikes, the castles of Erdry, third part, West-Berns, the towne of Craile, with the provestry, Balcomy, Wormstoun, Randerstoun, Newhall, Camno, Kippo, Pitmille, Kinkell, Strawithy, Lambecletham, Lathochar; the citie of Sanct Andros, the metropolitan and archbishop's seat, with a strong castle and abbey, decored with three universities. In old time the churches in this city were costly builded. From this city west, upon the water of Eddin, lye the castles of Nidy, Rumgary, Dairsey, Blebo; the towne of Cowper, the chiefe justice seat; Corstoun, the castle of Struther, the Lord Lindsay's principal residence; Scots-Tarwet, Craighall, Careston, Kirkforthar, and Ramsayes Forthar, Ramorvy, Bruntoun, Congland, Bandone, Balgony, the towne of Merkinsche, the towne of Falkland, with the king's palace, with a pleasant parke, aboundant with deeres and other wild beasts, with a pleasant new palace, builded by the Lord of Scone; the towne of Stramiglo, with the castle, the Loch of Rossy, *with the tower*, Monymeal, Hall-hill, the towne

of Ochtermuchty, Hil-Corney, and Nachtoun, the two Loumonds, the towne of Lesly, with the castle, Arnat, and Straith-endrie, the loch of Inchgaw, with the castle, the castle of Dow-hill, Killerny, Ady, Cleisch, the loch of Loch-Levin, with a strong castle, abundant in all fresh fishes, with the new house adjacent thereto; the castle of Burley, the Lord Burleye's residence; the castle of Ballnaird, the towne of Newbrough, the abbey of Lundors, the Lord of Lundor's residence; the castle of Bambreich, the Earle of Rothous speciall residence; the abbey of Balmerinoch, Collarny, Ferne, the two Ramkelours, Perbroth, Mordocarny, Maquhany, Forret, Kynneir, the towne of Lucers, with Earles Hall and their castles, of old pertaining to the Lord Monnypenny; at which time a valiant man, named Sir David Bruce, atchieved in France great honours and lands, called Ascariot, the which he exchanged with the said lands of Earles Hall, Lucers, and other lands of the said Lord Monnypennie's in Scotland, which Lord Monnypenny then having no sonnes but daughters, his name utterly perished in France. Colluthy, the townes of East and West Ferries. The rivers in Fife are, Levin, Eddin, Ore, Lochty, the two Quiches, waters of Largo, Kendlie, and Stramiglo.

This countrie abounds in cornes, fruits, bestiall, and all sorts of fishes, coales, and salt; and all the aforesaid sea townes very populous and *well shipped.* Straitherne taking its name from *Erne, which* runneth out of Locherne. The prin-

cipall countrie of Perthshyre is divided on the south from part of Fife, Kinroshire, and Clakmananshyre, by the Ochal hilles, the tops of the hills serving for march, for as the water springs do fall towards the north, they belong to Straitherne, and as they fall towards the south, they appertaine to Kinroshyre, Culroshyre, and Clakmananshyre, by ambition divided; in old times all these three shyres were under the jurisdiction of Perth. The stewartrie of Menteith lyeth in Perthshyre, wherein lyes the abbey of Inchmahomo, with the castles and towers of Cardrose, Archopple, Balinton, Quolze, Burnbanke, Row, Keir, Knockhill, Calendar, Leny, Cambusmoore, Torre, and Lainricke, lying upon Teith water, giving the name to Mentieth. The strong fort and castle of Downe, Newtown, Argatie, and Kirkbryd, the Earle of Mentieth's residence. Next lyes in Perthshyre the city of Dumblane, the Bishop of Dumblane's residence; Kippinrose, Cromlix, Buttergrasse, and Castle Campbell. Returning to the towne of Abirnethy, some time the metropolitane city of the Picts, lying in Straithern, it marcheth with Fiffe, where the Earles of Angus have their sepulchres. By Mugdrum and Balgony, runneth the river of Erne in Tay, which is the greatest river in Scotland. At the foote of the Ochells lyes the castles and towers of Craigpoty and Knightpoty, Fordel, Ardrose, Balmanno, Exmagirdle, and Forgon, where the water of Meth flowed from the Ochells, giving name to the castle of Innermeth, the Lord of Innermeth's

residence; the castles and towers of Condy, Keltie, Garvoke, Duncrub, Newtowne, Glainaigles, the towne of Doning and Auchtirardour, the castle of Kincardin, the Earle of Montrose his speciall residence; the castles of Nether Gaske and Tullibardin, the Earle of Tullibardin his speciall residence; Aurthermachonie, Orchel, Pannels, Ardoch, Braikoch, and Craigrossie; the castle of Drymmen, the Earle of Perth's residence; Balloch, Perkellany, and Moreland.

Betwixt Erne and Tay lyeth Easter and Wester Rindes, Pitgalke, Kinmonth, Elcho abbey and castle, Easter and Wester Montcreiffes, Malar, Petthewlis, Balhoussie, the ancient bourgh of Perth, pleasantly situate upon the river of Tay, betwixt two commodious greene fields, or inches, founded by King William, sirnamed the Lyon, after the abolishing of the castle of Bertha by inundation of waters, about the year of Christ 1210; the king giving great and ample priviledges to the said burgh, decored with a large and long stone bridge over Tay of eleven arches, and now lately decayed; having reasonable commodities for shipping, with goodly fishings; of old decored with sundrie monasteries, and specially the charterhouse, now demolished; the strong castle of Dupplin, the Lord Oliphant's speciall residence; the castles of Huntingtore, (of old called Ruthwen), the castle of Methwen, Bachilton, Logyalmond castle, Cultmalindis, Tibbermure, Tibbermallow, *Keillour*, Gorthy, Trewn, and Strowane, the *towne of Fowles*, Cultoquhey, Abircarny, Inch-

breky, Monyvard, Carriwechter, Fordee, Comre, Williamstown, and Dondum, with the towne of Creiffe, Ochtirtire, and Milnabe; the abbey of Inchaffrey, the Lord of Inchaffreye's residence; Innerpeffrey, the Lord of Innerpeffrey's speciall dwelling. Betwixt Almond and Tay lyes the Stormond of Straitherne, wherein are the castles and towers of Strathurd, Upper Barchels, Inchstrewy, Ochtirgewin, Arlywicht, Tullibeltane, Innernity, Inchstuthill, Murthlie, the ancient demolished castle of Kinclevin, where the water of Isla runneth in Tay. In these countries are the rivers of Farg, Meth, Erne, Urdachy, Schiochy, and Lochty, falling in Almond, where loose werke made of stone, receives a great channel of water, passing to Perth, whereon stands many milles, and filling the ditches to Spey tower; the rest of Perth is compassed with a stone wall. The city of Dunkeld, the bishops seate, situate upon Tay, with Little Dunkeld, the water of Brane falls in Tay, giving the name to Strait-brane, wherein is the castle of Trocharty: adjacent to Dunkeld lyes the castles and towers of Rotmell, Carny, Cluny, loch and castle, Gowrdy, Mekilhour, Lethandy, Glesclun, Drumlochy, Gormoke, Blair, Ardblair, Craighall, Rettray, and Forde. In Straithardell, named from the water of Ardell, lyes the castles and towers of Morkley, Assintulle, and Innerthrosky. In Athole lying in Perthshyre, is the great and strong castle of Blair, the Earle of Athole's speciall residence; Strowane, Fascalze, Ballachan, Balladmin, the olde castle of Muling,

the olde demolished castle of Logyrait, where the water Tymell flowes in Tay; the castle of Garntully, the strong fortresse of Garth, upon a great rocke, the castles of Weme, Balloch, Finlarge, Ganurquhar, Lawers, and Miggerny in Glenlyon, where the water of Lion runneth in Tay. The water of Tay commeth foorth of Lochtay, in Broad-Albin, which loch is 24 miles of length. There are other countries (as Rannoch, Balquhidder), lying betwixt Athole, Argyle, Lorne, and Lochaber, unknowne to the authour. Returning to Gowry, and the rest of Perthshire lying betwixt Tay and Angusse, where lyes the castles and towers of Stobhall, Campsey, Byrs, Petcur, Ruthwens, Banff, Comno, Balgillo, Moncur, Inchstur, the ancient and renowned abbey of Scone, where the kings of Scotland were crowned, from the extermination of the Picts, unto the time of King Robert Bruce, at which time the fatall marble chayre was transported to Westminster, by Edward the First, (sirnamed Longshanks), king of England. This abbey was sumptuously builded, now wholly decayed; a part whereof is re-edified, and pleasantly repayred by the Lord of Scone, beeing his speciall residence; the castles and towers of Pokmill, Pitsindie, Balthiok, Rait, Kilspindie, Fingask, Kynnarde, Meginshe, Murey, Hill, Petfour, the towne and palace of Arroll, the Earle of Arroll's residence; *Leyis, Inchmartine*, Monorgund, Huntley, and *Innergowry*.

These countries (all in Perthshyre), are right

plenteous and abundant in all kinde of cornes, beastiall, and all sort of fishes, and all other necessaries for the sustentation of man; and Athole abounds in all kinds of wild beasts and fowles, with wild horses.

Next adjacent to Gowry lyes Angusse, beginning at the bridge of Innergowrie, with the castle of Fowles, the Lord Graye's residence; the castles of Balfour, Lundy, and Dinnun; the towne of Kethens, the towne and abbey of Cupar, the castle of Newtyle, the towne and castle of Glammes, the Lord Glammes speciall residence; the towne of Killy-mure, the castles and towers of Lowry, Brigtoun, Thorntoun, Innerrichtie, Kilkaudrum, Quich, Clovoy, with parkes and woods, Innerquharitie, Gen-ilay, Wain, Dysart, Rossie, the castle of Fyn-haven, the Earle of Crawfurd's residence; the castles and towers of Melgund, Flemingtoun, Woodwre, Bannabreich, Old Bar, with the parke, Carrestoun, and Balhall, the city and castle of Brechin, the bishop's residence; the castles and towers of Dun, Craig, Edzell, Balzordy, and Newtoun; the towne or burgh of Dundee, strongly builded with stone houses, right populous and industrious, with good shipping, and a commodious haven; a pleasant church, with a right high stone steeple; the castle of Duddope and Aurtherhouse, the Earle of Buquhan's speciall residence; the castles and towers of Strick-martin, Clawers, Mayns, Wester Ogyall, Ballumby, and Claypots; the strong fortresse and castle of Bruchty, upon a rock invironed alm-

with the sea. The townes of North Ferrey and Monyfuth; the castles of Grainge, Auchinleck, Easter and Wester Powres, Glen, Drumkilbo, and Teling, the towne of Forfarre, with an old castle, with a loch and an isle therein, with a tower; Cassie, Logymegle, Barnzaird, Innerkelour, the old abbey of Restenneth, with a loch, and the loch of Reskoby, the castles and towers of Woodend, Balmeshannoch, Hakerstoun, Balmady, with a loch, Balgays demolished, the castles and towers of Turings, Carsegowny, Guthrie, Garne, Ferneil, and Boshane, the Lord Ogilbie's speciall residence; the townes of Barre and Panbride; the castles of Duniken, Panmure, and Kelly, the towne and ancient abbey of Abirbrothok, with the castle, Seaton, Lethame, and Ethy, where a falcon engenders yearely upon a high rocke, past memorie of man; the castles of Kinblethmont, Ley, Calistoun, Boysucke, Ardbeky, and the Red Castle; the castles and towers of Dunnenald, Usum, Craig, Bonytoun, and Kinnard.

The ancient towne of Montrosse, with a commodious harborough for shipping; this towne is all builded with stone, and populous, aboundant with all kinde of fishes; the towne and castle of old Montrosse, and the castle of Westerbracky. The rivers in Angusse are, the water of Innergowry, deviding Gowry from Angusse, the rivers of Dichty, Carbat, Isla, Brothat, Lunnen, North and South Askis. This countrie of Angusse is *plentifull* and aboundant in all kind of cornes, *great store* of beastiall, with all sort of fishes, and

other commodities necessarie for man. Next adjacent to Angusse is the Merns, the townes of Kinkardin, Fourdon, Bervy, Cowey, and Stanehyve, the castles of Halgrein, Lowristoun, Durris, and Tulliquhilly, the most strong castle of Dunotter, with many pleasant buildings within the same, situate upon a rock, invironed with the ocean sea, and well furnished with ordinance and of warlike provision for defence, the Earle Marshall his residence; with the castle of Fatteresso, with woods and a pleasant parke; there are also the castles of Glenbervy, Pyttarrow, Arbuthnet, Thornetowne, Balbegenot, Hakertoun, Morphie, Benholme, Allardes, and Maters. This countrie is plenteous of beere and wheat, abounding in beastiall and fishes. The barons and gentlemen detest contention in law, remitting and submitting alwayes their actions debatable to amicable arbitrements among themselves.

North from the Merns is the mouth of the water of Dee, where is situate the ancient bourgh and marchant towne of Abirdene, well builded, and renowned for the salmond fishing thereof, well shipped. It hath a florishing colledge for instruction of youth, and a pleasant bridge, builded of stones. Neere the mouth of the river Done, is situate the old city of Aberdene, which is the bishop's seat, where also is a goodly universitie for learning in sciences, speciall in philosophy, with a strong bridge of one arch.

Betwixt Dee and Done beginneth the countrie of *Marre*, growing alwayes wider and wider, till

it be three score miles of length, and comes to Badezenoch. In Marre is the towne of Kinkardin of Neil, the castles of Drum, Leyes, Skein, Monimuske, Halforrest, the towne of Kintor, the castles of Abirgeldy, Lenturke, Corsse, Aslun, Kildrimmy, Innerbuchat, Cluny, Corsinda, Muchal, Cragywar, Cowgarth, Klenkindy, and New Lochaber. Badezenoch and Marre comprehend the bredth of Scotland between the two seas.

Next Marre, upon the north, lyes the Gareoch, wherein is the towne of Innerwry, the castles of Balquhan, Fethernere, Caskybane, Auchenhuiff, Meldrum, Pitcaple, Pittodry, Harthill: not farre distant is the most high mountaine of Bannochy, the highest mountaine in the north, for saylers comming from the easter seas, take up land first by this mountaine. The castles of Lesly and Wardes, the ancient castle of Dinnedure, upon a high mountaine, called the Golden Mountaine, by reason of the sheepe that pasture thereupon, whose teeth are so extraordinarie yellow, as if they were coloured with gold; there is also the castle of Drumminor, the Lord Forbes residence. Next Gareoch, upon the north east, lies Buquhan, wherein is situate the towne of Newburgh, upon the water of Itham, aboundant in salmond and other fishes; the townes of Peterhead and Frisselburgh; the castles of Fophern, Asselmond, Arnage, Tochone, Kelly, Straloch, Udney, and upon the north east side thereof, there is a rocke, where *are found* sundry well coloured stones of divers *hews, verie* pleasant, some quadrant, pointed and

transparant, resembling much the orientall diamond, for they are proved to bee better than either the Virginean or Bohemian diamond. There are also the castles of Pitmedden, Hadde, Gicht, Fywie, the ancient castle of Slanes, Watterton, Enderrugy, with the strong castle of the Craig of Enderrugy; the castles of Fillorth, Pitsligo, Feddreth, Towy, Balquhaly, Dalgatie, the tower of Torrey, and the castle of Mures. This countrie stretches farthest in the Germane seas of all the countries in Scotland, fertile in store and cornes; and in it selfe sufficient in all the other commodities necessarie for the countrie: there is abundance of salmond and other fishes taken in all the waters thereof, except the water of Rattry, where unto this day there was never any salmond seene. Next Buquhan, upon the north, lyes Boyne and Enze; in Boyne is the towne of Bamffe, and castle thereof, situate upon the river of Divern; there is also the castles of Boyne, Finlatar, with the towne of Culane, situate upon the sea coast. Next lies the land of Straithbogy, where is the castle and palace of Straithbogy, the speciall residence of the Marquesse of Huntley; the castles of Fendraugh, Pitlurge, Carnbarrow, Rothemay, the Lord Salton's chiefe residence; Kinnardy, Cromby, Achindore, Lesmore, Balwany, Blarsindy, Drimmyn, Dusky, Ballindalloch, Balla Castle, and Aikenway: these foresaid countries are plenteous in cornes, beastiall, and in fishings.

Next upon the north is the water of Spey,

aboundant in salmond and all other fishes. Neere the sea lyes Bogygicht, a faire palace, with fine orchards. Endlong Spey lies Murrey-land, with the city of Elgyn, upon the water of Lossy, the Bishop of Murreye's seat, with a church sumptuously builded, but now decayed. In Murrey are many strong castles and other strong houses, as the castles of Blairy, Monynesse, the castles of Spinay, with a pleasant loch, abounding in fishes, the castles of Innes and Duffus, the castle and towne of Forres, the great castle of Tarnuaye, the principall residence of the Earle of Murrey; the castles of Caddall and Kilravicke, with divers gentlemens strong stone houses, adjacent about the town of old Erne. In Murrey are two famous abbeyes, Pluscardy and Kinlus, the castle of Lovat, the Lord Lovat's residence. There is also the most ancient towne of Innernes, and the strong castles thereof, situate on the water of Næs, which descends from a loch named Loch Næs, thirtie foure miles in length: this water of Næs is alwayes warme, and never freeseth, in such sort, as in winter time yce falling into it is dissolved by the heate thereof. West from Lochness, there lye eight miles of continent ground, and that small peece is the only impediment that the seas joyne not, and make the remanent of Scotland an island, for all the land that lyes betwixt the strait and the Deucalidon sea, is cut by creekes and loches of salt water running unto the *land.*

From the mouth of Næs, where it enters in the

Germane sea, north lyes Rosse, shooting in the sea in great promontories or heads. The countrie of Rosse is of greater length than bredth, extending from the Germane to the Deucalidon sea, where it ryseth in craggy and wild hilles; and yet in the plaine fields thereof, there is as great fertility of corne, as in any other part of Scotland. There are in Rosse pleasant dales, with waters and loches full of fishes, specially Loch-broome; it is broad at the Deucalidon sea, and growes narrow by little and little, turning southward from the other shore, the Germane sea (winning itselfe an entrie betwixt high clints), runnes within the land in a wide bosome, and makes an healthfull port and sure refuge against all tempests and stormes; the entrie of it is easie, and within it is a very sure haven against all injuries of sea, and a haven for great navies of ships. Loch-broome is abundant of salmond and all other fishes. The townes in Rosse are, the city of the Channorie, the bishop's seat, with a strong castle, the towne of Rosemary, the castles of Read-castle, Dingwall, the abbey of Bewly, the castles of Cromarty, Miltoun, Fowls, Ballingoun, the towne of Tane, the castles of Catboll, Torbat, Loselun, and Kayne, with many others. The waters in Rosse are, Cromarty, the water Tane, the water of Næs; also mountaynes of allabaster, and hilles of white marble: there are many other parts in Rosse, too longsome to describe. In the height of Rosse, bordering with Southerland and Straithnavern, lyes Assint, a countrie full of beastiall,

where the castle of Ardwrek lyes. Next Rosse lies Southerland, the speciall towne is Dornorch, with a strong castle; the castles of Skibow, Pulrossy, Skelbo, Clyne, Dunrobene, the Earle of Southerland's residence, with goodly orchards, where growes good saphron; Golspitoun. The rivers are, Ferryhuns, Brora, Helmsdaill, with a castle, abundant in salmond and other fishes, and good store of beastiall; there are also hilles of white marble, and the Ord head, being very high, and of difficil passage. In Southerland is good salt and coales. Three miles above the river of Brora, the Earle of Southerland hath one island, called Broray, a delectable habitation, and pleasant for hunting of red deere and roes, in the wildness of both the sides of the loch. Next Southerland lyes Straithnavern, the castle of Far, where the Lord of Makky hath his speciall residence; the castles of Tunge, the countrie of Straithy and Durines, with the castle thereof, with sundry islands, as Ship-land, Hip-land, Marten island, Conny island, all unknowne to the author. Next lyes Caithnes, where it marches with Stranaverne, is the furthest north countrie of all Scotland, and those two draw the bredth of Scotland in a narrow front. In them are three promontaries, or heads, the highest whereof is in Stranaverne, called Orcas, or Travidum, the other two, not so high, are in Caithnes, Vervedrum, now named Hoya, and Berebrum, now *called* Dunsby; at the foote of this hill there is a *pretty haven* for them that travell from Orknay

by sea: there are mountaines called Hoburn-head, Maydens Pape, the Castle of Baridale, with a river abundant in salmond and other fishes. The castle of Dumbeth, with a goodly river, with the townes of Weik and Thirso, with Ichon, a river; the castle of Gerniggo, the Earle of Caithnes speciall residence; the castles of Aker-gile, Keis, Presik, old Weik, Ormly, Skrabstar, Dunray, Brawl, and May; Dunnethead is a hill of marble. The rivers are, the river of Berridale, Dunberth, Weik, Thirso, Fors. This countrie is abundant in cornes, beastiall, salmond, and all other fishes.

OF THE ISLES OF SCOTLAND IN GENERALL.

Now resteth it to speak somewhat of the isles: they are divided (which as it were a crowne) in three classes, or rankes, the West Isles, Orknay Isles, and Shetland Isles; the West Isles lye in the Deucalidon sea, from Ireland, almost to Ork-nay; upon the west side of Scotland they are call-ed Hebrides, and by some Aebudæ; they are scat-tered into the Deucalidon sea, to the number of three hundred and above. Of old the kings of Scotland kept these isles in their possession, un-till the time of Donald, brother to King Mal-colme the Third, who gave them to the king of Norway, upon condition that hee should assist him in usurping of the kingdome of Scotland.

against law and reason. The Danes and Norway people kept possession of them for the space of 160 yeeres; and then King Alexander the Third, overcomming the Danes and Norway men in a great battell, thrust them out of the isles; yet afterward they attempted to recover their liberty, partly trusting to their owne strength, and partly moved by seditions in the maine land of this countrie, creating kings of themselves, as not long agoe, John (of the house of Clandonald), did usurpe the name of king, as others had done before. In food, rayment, and all things pertaining to their family, they use the ancient frugality of the Scots.

Their bankets are hunting and fishings; they seeth their flesh in the tripe, or else in the skinne of the beasts, filling the same full of water. Now and then in hunting, they straine out the blood and eate the flesh raw. Their drinke is the broth of sodden flesh. They love very well the drinke made of whey, and kept certaine yeares, drinking the same at feasts; it is named of them *Blandium*. The most part of them drinke water. Their custome is to make their bread of oates and barly, (which are the onely kinds of graine that grow in those parts). Experience (with time), hath taught them to make it in such sort, that it is not unpleasant to eate. They take a little of it in the morning, and so passing to the hunting, or any other businesse, content themselves therewith, without any other kind of meat till evening.

They delight to weare marled clothes, specially *that have long* stripes of sundry coloures; they

love chiefly purple and blew. Their predecessors used short mantles or playdes of diverse coloures, sundrie way devided; and amongst some, the same custome is observed to this day, but for the most part now they are brown, most neere to the colour of the hadder, to the effect, when they lye amongst the hadder, the bright colour of their plaids shall not bewray them; with the which, rather coloures than clad, they suffer the most cruell tempest that blow, in the open field, in such sort, that under a wryth of snow they sleep sound. In their houses also, they lye upon the ground, laying betwixt them and it brakens, or hadder, the roots thereof downe, and the tops up, so prettily laid together, that they are as soft as feather beds, and much more wholesome; for the tops themselves are dry of nature, whereby they dry the weake humours, and restore againe the strength of the sinewes troubled before, and that so evidently, that they who at evening goe to rest sore and wearie, rise in the morning whole and able. As none of these people doe care for feather beds and bedding, so take they great pleasure in rudenesse and hardnesse. If for their owne commodity, or upon necessitie, they travell to any other countrie, they reject the feather beds and bedding of their host: they wrap themselves in their owne plaids, so taking their rest, carefull indeed lest that barbarous delicacy of the maine land, (as they terme it), corrupt their naturall and countrie hardnesse.

Their armour, wherewith they cover thei

bodyes in time of warre, is an yron bonnet and an habbergion, side almost even to their heeles. Their weapons against their enemies are bowes and arrows. The arrows are for the most part hooked, with a barble on eyther side, which once entered within the body, cannot be drawne foorth againe, unlesse the wound bee made wider. Some of them fight with broad swords and axes. In place of a drum, they use a bagpipe. They delight much in musick, but chiefly in harpes and clairschoes of their owne fashion. The strings of the clairschoes are made of brasse wyre, and the strings of the harps of sinews, which strings they strike eyther with their nayles, growing long, or else with an instrument appoynted for that use. They take great pleasure to deck their harps and clairschoes with silver and precious stones; and the poore ones that cannot attain heereunto, deck them with christall. They sing verses prettily compounded, contayning (for the most part) praises of valiant men. There is not almost any other argument whereof their rimes intreat. They speake the ancient language, altered a little.

FINIS.

A

SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF THE

WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND,

LYING IN THE DEUCALIDON SEA, BEING ABOUT THREE HUNDRED; ALSO THE ISLES IN ORKNAY AND SCHETLAND, OR HETHLAND.

THE first is the Isle of Man, of old called Dubonia; there was a towne in it named Sodora, the bishop of the isles seat. It lyes almost midway betwixt Ireland and Cumber, in England, and Galloway in Scotland, 24 miles in length, and 18 in bredth. Next unto Man is Ailsay, into the Firth of Clyde, with a castle therein, and hard high craig on all sides except at one entrie, unmanured. There comes a great number of boates there to fish keeling. There are many conies and solayne geese in it. It lyes betwixt Ireland upon the west, Carricke upon the south east, and Kintyre upon the north west. Twenty four miles from Ailsay, lyes Arran, almost direct north, 24 miles of length, and 16 of bredth. The whole island riseth in high and wild mountaines, manured onely upon the sea side, where the ground is lowest. The sea runnes in and makes a well large creeke into it; the entries whereof are closed by the island Molas,

verie sure haven for shippes; and in the waters, which are alwayes calme, is great abundance of fish, that sundry times the countrie people taking more than may sustaine them for a day, they cast them in againe in the sea, as it were in a stanke. Next Arrane, lyes the Isle Flada, fertil of conies. Further in it is situate the Isle of Bute, within the Firth of Clyde, 8 miles in length and 4 in bredth, from Arrane 8 miles south east, and from Argyle south west halfe a mile, Cuningham lyes by east of it sixe miles. It is a low countrie, commodious for corne and store, with a towne of the same name, and the old castle of Rosa, with another castle in the midst of it, named Cames. The Isle Mernoca, a mile of length and halfe a mile of bredth, lyes low, south westwards, well manured and fertill. Within the Firth of Clyde lyes Little Cambra, fertill of fallow deere; and Great Cambra, fertill of cornes. From the Mule of Kintyre, a little more than a mile, is *Porticosa Avona*, getting that name from the creeke of water that kept the Danes navy there, at what time they had the isles in their hands. North west from the Mule, over against the coast of Ireland, lyes Rachuda. And from Kintyre foure miles, is the Isle Caraia; and not farre from thence Gigaia, sixe miles of length, and a mile and a halfe of bredth. Twelve miles from Gigaia lyes Jura, foure and twentie miles of length. The shore side of Jura is well manured, and the inward part of the countrie is clad with wood, full of deere of sundrie kinds. Two miles from Jura

lyes Scarba, foure miles in length and a mile in bredth. The tide of the sea betwixt this isle and Jura is so violent, that it is not possible to passe it, eyther by saile or oare, except at certain times. At the backe of this isle is the Isle Ballach, Genistaria, Gearastilla, Longaia, the two Fidlais, the three Barbais, Culbremna, Dunum, Coilp, Cuparia, Beluahua, Vikerana, Vitulina, Lumga, Seila, Scana; these three last islands are fertill in corne and store, pertaining to the Earle of Argile. Next unto them is Sklata, named from a sklate quarrie that is in it.

Then Naguigosa and Eisdalsa, and Skennia, and the Isle Thiania, Uderga, and the King's island; then Duffa, that is blacke, and the island of the Church, and Triaracha, and then the island Ardua, Humlis, Viridis, and Ericca; *item*, Arboraria, Capraria, Cunicularia, and the isle, named the Isle of Idlemen, and Abridita, and Lismora, where some times was the bishop's seate of Argyle, eight miles in length and two in bredth. In this isle are mines of mettals, with other good commodities. Then Ouilia, the island Traiecte, the island Garna, the island of the Stane, Gressa, and the great island Ardiescara, Musudilla, and Bernera, some time called the Holy Girth, notable by the tree Taxus that growes in it. Molochasgia, Drinacha, full of thornes and bourtries, overcovered with the ruines of old houses. Wrichtoun, fertill of wood; *item*, Ransa, Kernera. The greatest island, next unto Jura, westward, is Yla, *foure and* twentie miles in length, and sixteen

in bredth, extended from the south to the north, abundant in store, cornes, deere, and lead; there is a fresh water in it, called Laia, and a creeke of salt water, and therein are many islands. There is also a fresh water loch, wherein stands the island named Falingania, some time the chiefe seat of all the isles men. There the governour of the isles, usurping the name of king, was wont to dwell. Neere unto this island, and somewhat lesse than it, is the Round Island, taking the name from counsell, for therein was the justice seat, and foureteene of the most worthy of the countrie did minister justice unto all the rest continually, and intreated of the waighty affaires of the realme in counsell, whose great equitie and discretion kept peace both at home and abroad; and with peace was the companion of peace, abundance of all things. Betwixt Isla and Jura, lyes a little island, taking the name from a cairne of stones. At the south of Isla, doe lye Colurna, Mulvoris, Ossuna, Brigidana, Corskera, the Low island, Imersga Beathia, Texa, Ovicularia, Noasiga, Vinarda, Cava, Tarsheria, the great island Auchnarra, the island made like a man, the isle of John Slakebadis. At the west corner of Isla lyes Oversa, where the sea is most tempestuous, and at certaine houres unnavigable. The Marchants island, and south westwards from it, Usabrasta, Tanasta and Nesa. The Weavers island, eight miles from Isla, somewhat north, lyes Ornansa. Next unto it, the Swines island, halfe a mile from Ornansa, Coluansa. North from Co-

luansa, lyes the Mule, 20 miles from Isla. This isle is 24 miles of length, and as much in bredth, fruitfull of cornes. There are many woods in it, and many heards of deere, and a good haven for ships: there are in it two waters well spred of salmond fishes, and some stripes not empty thereof. There are also two loches in it, and in every one an island, and in every island a tower. The sea running in this island at foure sundry parts, makes foure salt water loches therein, all foure abounding in herring. To the north west lyes Columbaria, or the Dove island. To the south east Era, both the one and the other profitable for beastiall, cornes, and for fishings. From this island lyes the island of Sanct Colme, two miles of length, and more than a mile of bredth, fertill of all things, renowned by the ancient monuments of the countrie. There were two abbeyes in this island, and a court or a parish church, with many chappels, builded of the liberality of the kings of Scotland, and governours of the Isles. There is yet remaining amongst the old ruines, a buriall place, or church yard, common to all the noble families of the west isles; wherein there are three tombes higher than the rest, distant one from another a little space, and three little houses, situated to the east, builded severally upon the three tombes: upon the west side are stones graven, which stand in the midst, bearing this title, *the tombes of the kings of Scotland.* It is said there were 48 kings of Scotland buried there. The tombe upon the right side hath this inscription.

the tombes of the kings of Ireland. It is recorded that there were four kings of Ireland buried there. Upon the left side it hath this inscription, *the tombes of the kings of Norway.* The report is, that there were eight kings of that nation buried there. The notable houses of the isles have their tombes in the rest of the church yard, severally by themselves. About this island, and neere unto it, there are six islands, right fruitfull, given by the ancient kings of Scotland and governours of the Isles, to the abbey of Sanct Colme. Soa is a verie profitable ground for sheepe, but the chiefe commodities in it consist in sea fowles that build therein, specially of their eggs. Next unto it is the Isle of Women, then Rudana; neere unto it Bernira, and from that Skennia, halfe a mile distant from the Mule. The sea side of it abound in conyes. Five miles hence lyes Frosa. All their isles are subject to Sanct Colme's abbey. Two miles from Frosa lyeth Vilua, five miles of length, fruitfull of corne and store, with a commodious haven for gallies or boates. Upon the south side of it lyeth Toluansa, with a wood of nut trees, reasonable fruitfull. About 300 paces from this island, lyeth Gomatra, two miles long, and one mile broad, extending from the north to the south. From Gomatra, four miles southward, lye the two Staffæ, both full of havening places. From thence, four miles south east, lye the two Kerimburgæ, the more and the lesse, environed *with such* high shore, and furious tide, that by *their owne* naturall defence, (supported somewhat

by the industrie of man), they are altogether invincible. One mile from them lyes an island, the whole earth is blacke, whereof the people make peates for their fire. Next lyeth Longa, two miles of length, and Bacha, halfe as much. From Bacha six miles, lyes Tiria, eight miles in length and three in bredth, most fertill of all the islands; it aboundeth in store, cornes, fishes, and sea fowles. In this island there is a fresh water loch, and therein an old castle, with a good haven for boates. From this island two miles, lyes Sunna, and from Sunna as farre, lyeth Colla, twelve miles of length, and two miles of bredth, a fertill island. Not farre from it is Culsa, almost full of wood; and then two islands, named Mekle Viridis and Little Viridis; *item*, other two of the same names. Over against the Mule's head, and not farre from it, lye two islands, named Glassæ, and then Arden-Eider, that is, the high land of the Rider. Then Luparia, or the Wolfe island; and after it a great isle, lying north from Colla, extending east and west. Then Ruma, 16 miles in length, and six in bredth: the sea fowles lay their egges heere and there in the ground. In the middest of spring time, when the egges are laid, any man may take of them. In the high rockes, the solayne geese are taken in abundance. From this island foure miles north eastward, lyes the Horse island; from it halfe a mile, the Swine island, fruitfull enough in all things necessarie: the falcon builded in it, with a good haven. Not *farre from it* lyes Canna and Egga, fertill enough.

In Egga are solayne geese. Soabrittella, profitable for hunting. From this island is the Isle of Skye, the greatest of all the islands that are about Scotland, lying north and south, forty miles in length, and eight miles broad in some places, and in other places twelve miles, rising in hilles, in sundry places full of woods and pastorage; the ground thereof fertill in corne and store; and besides all other kind of beastiall, fruitfull of mares for breeding of horse. It hath five great rivers rich in salmond, and many little waters plentie in salmond, and other fishes. The sea running in the land on all sides, make many salt waters, three principall, and thirteen others, all rich in herring. There is in it a fresh water loch and five castles. About the Skye lye little islands scattered here and there. Oronsa, fertil in corne and store. Cunicularia, full of bushes and conyes. Next is Paba; eight miles from Paba, south west, lyes Scalpa, which (besides sundry other commodities), hath woodes full of troopes of deere. Betwixt the mouth of Lochcarron and Raorsa, lyes Crulinga, seven miles of length, and two of bredth; there is a sure haven in it for ships; there are in it also woods full of bucke and deere. Halfe a mile from Crulinga is Rona, full of wood and hadder, with a good haven in the innermost loch thereof. In the mouth of the same loch, is an island of the same name, called Gerloch. From Rona six miles northward, lyes Flada; two miles *from Flada*, Euilmena. Upon the south side of *Skye lyes* Oronsa, and a mile from it Kyna Pa-

bra, and Great Bina, and then five little islands. Next unto them is Isa, fertill in cornes; beside it is Ouia, then Askerma and Lindella; eight miles from Skye southward, lies Linga and Gigarmena, Benera, Megala, Paua, Flada, Scarpa, Vernecum, Sandara, Vatersa, which by many other good commodities, hath a haven commodious for a number of great ships, whereinto fishermen of all countries about convene certaine times of the yeare ordinarly. These last nine islands are subject to the bishop of the isles. Two miles from Vatersa is Barra, running from the north west to the south east, seven miles in length, fruitfull of cornes, and abundant in fish; there runneth in it a loch with a narrow throat, growing round and wide within. In it there is an inch, and therein a strong castle. Upon the north side of Barra, there ryseth an hill full of hearbs, from the foot to the head, upon the top whereof is a fresh water well; the spring that runneth from this well to the next sea, carries with it little things, like as they were quicke, but having the shape of no beast, which appeare (although obscurly), in some respect to represent the fish that is commonly called cockles. The people that dwell there, call the part of the shore whereunto these things are carried, the Great Sands, because that when the sea ebbes, there appeares nothing but dry sands the space of a mile. Out of the sands the people digge out great cockles, which the neighboures about judge either to grow (as it were), of that seed *that the springs* doe bring from the well, or else

(indeed) to grow in that sea. Betwixt Barra and Wist, lye these islands; Oronsa, Onia, Hakerseta, Garnlanga, Flada, Great Buya, Little Buya, Haya, Hell sea, Gigaia, Lingaia, Foraia, Fudaia, Eriscaia. From these islands, Vistus lyes northward 34 miles of length, and six of bredth. The tide of the sea running in two places of this isle, causeth it to appeare three islands, but when the tide is out, it becommeth all one island. In it are many fresh water loches, specially one three miles long. The sea hath worne in upon the land, and made it selfe a passage to this loch, and can never be holden out, albeit the inhabitants have made a wall of sixtie foote broad to that effect: the water entereth in amongst the stones that are builded up together, and leaves behind it at the ebbe, many sea fishes. There is a fish in it like to the salmond in all things, except that with the white wombe, it hath a blacke backe, and wanteth scales. In this island are many fresh water loches, sundrie caves covered with hadder. In it are five churches. Eight miles west from it lyes Helsther Wetularum, pertaining to the nuns of the isle of Ione. A little further north riseth Haneskera: about this island, at certaine times of the yeare, are many sealches; they are taken by the countrie men. South west almost sixtie miles, lies Hirta, fertill in cornes and store, and specially in sheepe, greater than any other sheepe in any other islands. About the 17th day of *June, the lord* of this island sendeth his chamber-*laine to gather* his dueties, and with him a minis-

ter, who baptizeth all the children that are borne the year preceeding; and if the minister come not, every man baptizeth his own child. This Hirta is the last and farther isle in Albion; so that betwixt the Isle of Man, being the first isle in Albion, and this isle, there is 377 miles. Returning to Wistus, from the north poynt thereof is the island of Velaia, two miles long, and one mile of bredth. Betwixt this poynt and the island Harea, lyes Soa, Stroma, Pabaia, Barneraia, Emsaia, Kelligira, Little Saga, Great Saga, Harmodra, Scaria, Grialinga, Cillinsa, Hea, Hoia, Little Soa, Great Soa, Isa, Great Seuna, Little Seuna, Taransa, Slegana, Tuemon. All these islands are fruitfull in cornes and store. Above Horea, is Scarpa; and halfe a mile towards the west equinoctiall, from the Lewis, lye seven little islands, named Flananæ, some holy place (in old times), of girth or refuge, rising up in hilles full of hearbes. Further north in the same ranke, lyes Garn-Ellan, that is, the Hard Isle; Lamba, Flada, Kellasa, Little Bernera, Great Bernera, Kirta, Great Bina, Little Bina, Vexaia, Pabaia, Great Sigrama, Cunicularia, plentie of conyes, Little Sigrama. The island of the Pigmeis, wherein there is a church, in which the Pigmeis were buried, (as they that are neighbours to this island beleeve). Sundrie strangers digging deeply in the ground, some times have found, and yet to this day do find, very little round heads, and other little bones of man's body, which seemes to approve the truth and appearance of the common

bruite. In the north east side of the island Leogus, there are two lochs running foorth of the sea, named the North and South Loches, wherein at all times of the yeare, there is abundance of fish for all men that list to take them. From the same side of the loch, somewhat more southerly, lyes Fabilla, Adams island, the Lambe island; *item*, Hulmetia, Viccoilla, Hana, Rera, Laxa, Era, the Dove island, Tora, Affurta, Scalpa, Flada, Senta, at the east side thereof, there is a passage under the earth, vaulted above a flight shoote of length, into the which little boates may either sayle or row, for eschewing of the violent tide. Somewhat eastward lyes an island named Old Castle, a roome strong of nature, and plentie of cornes, fish, and egges of sea fowles, to nourish the inhabitants. At that side where Lochbrien enters, is situate the island Ew; more northly lyes the island Grumorta, both these islands full of wood. The island named the Priests island, lies the same way, profitable for pastorage of sheepe, and full of sea fowles. Next unto it is Afulla and Great Habrera, then Little Habrera; and neere unto it the Horse isle, and then Marta Ika. These last mentioned islands lye all before the entry of Lochbrien; and from them north lye Hary and Lewis, 16 miles of length and 16 of bredth. These two make an island, which is not divided by any haven or port of the sea, but by the severall lords the heritoures thereof. The *south part* is named Haray; in it some time was *the abbey* Roadilla, builded by Maccleude Hareis,

a countrie fertill enough in cornes and good pastorage, with a high hill, overcovered with grasse to the verie top; many sheepe are seene feeding there masterlesse, pertaining peculiarly to no man, for there is neither wolfe, fox, or serpent, seene there; albeit, betwixt that and Lewis there be great woods full of deere. In that part of the island is a water, well stored of salmond and other fishes. Upon the north side it is well manured. Upon the sea side there are four churches, one castle, seven great running waters, and 12 lesse, all plentifull of salmond and other fishes. The sea enters in the land in divers parts, making sundrie salt water loches, all plentifull of herring, with aboundance of sheepe. In this countrie is great abundance of barley. In this island is such aboundance of whales taken, (as aged men report), their tenth will extend to 27 whales: also a great cave, wherein the sea at a low water abides two fadome high, and at a full sea four fadome deepe. People of all sort and ages sit upon the rockes thereof, with hooke and line, taking great multitude of all kinde of fishes. South east from Lewis, almost 60 miles, there is a fertill island, low and plaine, called Rona, well manured; the lord of the ground limits certaine number of households to occupy it, appoynting for every household few or many sheepe, according to his pleasure, whereon they may easily live and pay his rent. In this island is a chappel dedicated to St. Rona, wherein (as aged men report), there is alwayes a spade, *wherewith* when any is dead, they finde the place

of his grave marked. Besides other fishes in this island, is great plentie of whales. Sixteen miles from Rona, west, lies Suilkeraia, a mile of length, but in it growes no kinde of hearbe, not so much as hadder; sea fowles lay egges there, and doe hatch. They of Leogus, next neighbours unto it, get great profit thereby. In that island is seene a rare kind of fowle, unknowne to other countries, called Colca, little lesse than a goose; they come in the spring time, and every yeere have and nourish their young ones. They cast their feathers, which have no stalke, like unto downe.

Now follow the isles of Orknay, (of old called the realme of the Picts), lying scattered, partly in the Deucalidon sea, partly in the Germane sea. The common people to this day are verie carefull to keep the ancient frugality of their predecessors, and in that respect they continue in good health, for the most part, both in mind and body, so that few die of sicknesse, but all for age. They have barley and oates, whereof they make both bread and drinke. They have sufficient store of quicke goods, neate, sheepe, and goates, great plentie of milk, cheese, and butter. They have innumerable sea fowles, whereof (and of fish for the most part), they make their common food. There is no venemous beast in Orknay. There is no kind of tree except hadder. They have an old cup amongst them, called St. Magnus cup, the first man that brought the Christian religion in that countrie. *There are* about thirty three islands in Orknay, *whereof thirteen* are inhabited, the remnant are

reserved for nourishing of cattell. The greatest isle is named Pomona; the firme land 30 miles of length, sufficiently inhabited. It hath twelve countrie parish churches, and one towne, called Kirkwall. In this towne there are two towers, builded not farre the one from the other; one of them appertaines to the king, the other to the bishop. Betwixt these two towers stands one church, very magnifick: betwixt the church and the towers, on either side, are sundry goodly buildings, which the inhabitants name the king's towne and the bishop's towne. The whole island runnes out in promontories or heads, the sea running in, and makes sure havens for ships, and harboures for boates. In six sundry places of this isle there are mines of good lead and tin, as it is to be found in any part of Britaine. This island is distant from Caithnes about 24 miles, divided by the Picts sea. In this sea are diverse islands scattered here and there; of whom Stroma, lying four miles from Caithnes, is one, very fruitfull, the Earles of Caithnes being lord thereof. Northward lyes South Ranalsa, five miles long, with a commodious haven, with two little islands or holmes, good for pastorage. Toward the north lies Burra, Suna, Flata, Fara, Hoia, and Walles. In these islands are the highest hilles that are in all Orknay. Hoia and Walles are 10 miles of length, distant from Ranalsay 8 miles, and more than 20 from Dunkirke in Caithnes. North is the isle Granisa and Cobes; aSiapinsa, turning *somewhat* east, lies two miles from Kirkwall, even

over against it, six miles of length. Right west from Siapinsa, are Garsa and Eglisa, foure miles of length. In this island they say St. Magnus is buried. Next, and somewhat neerer the continent land, is Rusa, four miles of length, and three of bredth, well peopled. Westward lyes the island Broca. Some islands lye to the north, as Stronza, next Linga, 5 miles of length, and two of bredth. Haa, five miles of length, and two of bredth. By east lies Fara, and north from Fara lies Wastra, running out in the sea in promontories or heads. Above Stronza, at the east end of Etha, lyes Sanda, northward 10 miles of length, and four of bredth, most fertill of cornes of all the isles of Orknay, but it hath no kind of fire within it, making exchange of cornes for peats. Beyond Sanda lies North Ranalsa, two miles of length, and two of bredth. Upon the south side of Pomona lyes Rusa, six miles of length; and from it eastward, Eglisa, South Veragersa; and not farre from it Westraa; from which Hethland is distant 80 miles, and Papastronza lyes 80 miles from Hethland. In the midway betwixt, lyes Fara, that is, the Fayre island, standing in the sight of Orknay and Hethland both; it riseth in three promontories or heads, and shore craig round about, without any kind of entrance, except at the south east, where it growes little lower, making a sure harborow for small boates. Next is the greatest isle of all Hethland, named the Mayne land, 16 *miles of length.* There are sundry promontories *or heads in it,* specially two, one long and small,

which runnes north, the other broader, in some part 16 miles, runnes north east, inhabited upon the sea coast. There is good fishing in all these parts, the peoples commodity standing most by the sea. Ten miles north lies Zeall, 20 miles of length, and 8 miles of bredth. The Bremes marchants do bring all wares needfull. Betwixt this island and the maine land, lye Ling, Orna, Bigga, Sanct Ferry. Two miles northward lies Unsta, more than 20 miles of length, and 6 miles of bredth, a pleasant countrie and plaine. Uia and Ura, are betwixt Unsta and Zeall. Skenna and Burna lye westward from Unsta, Balta, Hunega, and Fotlora, 7 miles long; and seven miles eastward from Unsta, Mecla, with the three islands of East Skennia, Chualsa, Nestwada, Brasa, and Musa; upon the west side lye West Schemniæ, Roria, Little Papa, Veneda, Great Papa, Valla, Trondra, Burra, Great Haura, Little Haura, and many other holmes lying scattered amongst them. The Hethlandishmen use the same kind of foode that Orknay men use, but yet they are most scarce in house keeping. In this island no kind of shee beast will live 24 houres together, except ky, ewes, conies, and such like beasts as may be eaten. The people are apparelled after the *Almaine* fashion, and according to their substance, not unseemely. Their commodity consisteth in course cloth, which they sell to Norway men, with fish, oyle, and butter. They fish in little cockboates, bought from Norway men that *make them.* They salt some of the fish that they

take, and some of them they dry in the wind. They sell those wares, and pay their masters with the silver thereof.

OF THE GREAT PLENTIE OF HARES, RED DEERE, AND OTHER WILDE BEASTES IN SCOTLAND. OF THE STRANGE PROPERTIES OF SUNDRY SCOTTISH DOGS; AND OF THE NATURE OF SALMOND.

HAVING made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland: now touching some things concerning the same in generall. In the fields, and in all places of the countrie, (except the parts where continuall habitation of people makes impediment), there is great abundance of hares, red deere, fellow deere, roes, wild horses, wolves, and foxes, and specially in the high countries of Athole, Argyle, Lorne, Lochaber, Marre, and Badezenoch, where is sundry times seene 1500 red deere, being hunted all together. These wild horses are not gotten but by great slight and policie, for in the winter season the inhabitants turne certaine tame horses and mares amongst them, wherewith in the end they grow so familiar, that they afterward goe with them to and fro, and finally home into their masters yardes, where they bee taken and soone broken to their hands, the owners obtaining great profit thereby. The wolves are most *fierce and noysome* unto the heardes and flockes *in all parts* of Scotland. Foxes do much mis-

chiefe in all steads, chiefly in the mountaines, where they bee hardly hunted; howbeit, art hath devised a meane to prevent their malice and to preserve the poultry in some part, and especially in Glen-moores, every house nourishes a young foxe, and then killing the same, they mixe the flesh thereof amongst such meate as they give unto the fowles and other little beastiall; and by this meanes, so many fowles or cattell as eate hereof, are safely preserved from the danger of the foxe, by the space of almost two monthes after, so that they may wander whither they will, for the foxes smelling the flesh of their fellowes, yet in their crops, will in no wayes meddle with them, but eschew and know such a one, although it were among a hundred of others. In Scotland are dogs of marveylous condition, above the nature of other dogs: the first is a hound, of great swiftnesse, hardiness, and strength, fierce and cruell upon all wilde beasts, and eger against thieves that offer their masters any violence: the second is a rach, or hound, verie exquisite in following the foote, (which is called drawing), whether it bee of man or beast; yea, he will pursue any maner of fowle, and find out whatsoever fish haunting the land, or lurking amongst the rocks, specially the otter, by that excellent sent of smelling wherewith he is indued: the third sort is no greater than the aforesaid raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else black and full of red markes; these are so skilfull (*being* used by practise), that they will pursue

thiefe, or thiefe stolne goods, in most precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great audacity, they will make a race upon him, or if hee take the water for his safegard, hee shrinketh not to follow him; and entring and issuing at the same places where the party went in and out, hee never ceaseth to range till hee hath noysed his footing, and bee come to the place wherein the thiefe is shrowded or hid. These dogs are called Sleuth-hounds. There was a law amongst the borderers of England and Scotland, that whosoever denyed entrance to such a hound, in pursute made after felons and stolne goods, should be holden as accessary unto the theft, or taken for the selfe same thiefe.

Of fowles, such as (I meane), live by prey, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, goshawks, sparhawkes, marlions, and such like. But of water fowles there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of fowles, the like are rare to bee seene, as the capercaily, greater in body than the raven, living onely by the rindes and barks of trees. There are also many moore cockes and hennes, which abstaining from corne, doe feede onely upon hadder crops. These two are verie delicate in eating: The third is reddish, blacke of colour, in quantity compared to the phesant, and no less delicious in taste and savour at the table, called the *blacke or* wilde cocks.

Salmond is more plentifull in Scotland than in

any other region of the world: in harvest time they come from the seas up in small rivers, where the waters are most shallow, and there the male and female, rubbing their bellies or wombs, one against the other, they shed their spawne, which foorthwith they cover with sand and gravell, and so depart away: from hencefoorth they are gaunt and slender, and in appearance so lean, appearing nought else but skin and bone; and therefore out of use and season to bee eaten. Some say if they touch any their full fellowes during the time of their leannes, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane. The foresaid spawne and melt being hidden in the sand, (as you have heard), in the next spring doth yeeld great number of little fry, so nesh and tender for a long time, that till they come to bee so great as a man's finger, (if you catch any of them), they melt away as it were gelly or a blob of water; from henceforth they go to the sea, where within twenty dayes, they grow to a reasonable greatness, and then returning to the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle to be considered. There are many linnes or pooles, which being in some places among the rocks very shallow above and deepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the salmond not able to pierce through the channell, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the discent, hee goeth so neere unto the side of the rocke or dam as hee may, and there adventuring to leape

over and up into the linne, if hee leape well at the first, hee obtaineth his desire, if not, he assayeth eftsoone the second or third time, till hee returne to his countrie. A great fish able to swim against the stream; such as assay often to leape, and cannot get over, doe bruse themselves, and become meazelled; others that happen to fall upon dry land, (a thing often seene), are taken by the people (watching their time); some in cawdrons of hot water, with fire under them, sit upon shallow or dry places, in hopes to catch the fattest, by reason of their waight, that do leape short. The taste of these is esteemed most delicate, and their prices commonly great. In Scotland it is straightly inhibited to take any salmond from the eight of September untill the fifteenth of November. Finally, there is no man that knoweth readily whereon this fish liveth, for never was any thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimy humour. In the desart and wild places of Scotland, there groweth an hearbe of itselfe, called hadder, or hather, verie delicate for all kinde of cattell to feede upon, and also for diverse fowles, but bees especially. This hearbe, in June, yeeldeth a purple flower, as sweete as honey, whereof the Picts, in times past, did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholesome for the body; but since their time, the manner of the making heereof is perished in the subversion of *the Picts; neither* showed they ever the learning *heereof to* any but to their owne nation. There

is no part of Scotland so unprofitable (if it were skilfully searched), but it produceth either iron or some other kinde of mettall, as may be proved through all the isles of Scotland.

A MEMORIALL OF THE MOST RARE AND WONDERFULL THINGS OF SCOTLAND.

AMONGST many commodities that Scotland hath common with other nations, it is beautified with some rare gifts in itselfe, wonderfull to consider: as for example, in Orknay the ewes are of such fœcundity, that at everie lambing time, they produce at least two, and ordinarly three. There bee neither venemous nor ravenous beasts bred there, nor doe live there, although they were transported thither.

In Schetland, the isles called Thulæ, at the entering of the sun in Cancer, the space of 20 dayes, there appeare no night at all. Among the rockes grow the delectable lambre called Succinum, with great resort of the mertrick for costly furrings. In the west and north west of Scotland, there is a great repayring of the Erne, of a marvelous nature, the people are very curious to catch him, and punze his wings that hee fly not; hee is of a hudge quantity, and a ravenous kind as the hawks, and the same qualitie; they doe give him such sort of meat, in great quantity at once, that hee lives contented therewith 14, 16, or

20 dayes, and some of them a moneth: their feathers are good for garnishing of arrowes, for they receive no raine nor water, but remaine alwayes of a durable estate and uncorruptible; the people doe use them either when they be a hunting, or at warres. In the most of the rivers in Scotland, beside the marvelous plentie of salmond and other fishes gotten there, is a shell fish, called the Horse mussell, of a great quantity, wherein are ingendred innumerable faire, beautifull, and delectable pearles, convenient for the pleasure of man, and profitable for the use of phisicke; and some of them so faire and polished, that they may bee equall to any orientall pearles: and generally, by the providence of Almighty God, when dearth and scarcity of victuals are in the land, then the fishes are most plentifully taken for the support of the people. In Galloway, the one halfe of Loch Mirton doth never freese. By Innernes, the loch called Lochnesse, and the river flowing from thence into the sea, doth never freese; but on the contrarie, in the coldest dayes of winter, the loch and river doe smoke and reeke, signifying unto us, that there is a mine of brimestone under it, of a hote quality. In Carrike are kyne and oxen, delicious to eat, but their fatnesse is of a wonderfull temperature; all other comes table beasts fatnesse, with the cold ayre doth congeale, by the contrary, the fatnes of these beasts is perpetually liquid, like oyle. The wood and park of Commernauld is replenished with kyne and oxen, *and those at all* times, to this day, have beene

wild, and of a wonderfull whitenesse, that there was never among all the huge number there, so much as the smallest black spot found to be upon one of their skinnes, hornes, or cloove. In Kyle is a rock of the height of 12 foote, and as much of bredth, called the Deafe Craig, for although a man should cry never so loud to his fellow, from one side to the other, hee is not heard, although hee would make the noyse of a gunne. In the countrie of Stratherne, upon the water of Farge, by Balward, there is a stone, called the Rocking Stone, of a reasonable bignesse, that if a man will push it with the least motion of his finger, it will moove verie lightly, but if hee addresse his whole force, hee profits nothing; which mooves many people to bee wonderfull merrie, when they consider such contrariety. In Lennox is a great loch, called Loch-Lowmond, 24 miles in length, and in bredth 8 miles, containing the number of 30 isles. In this loch is observed three wonderfull things, the one is fishes, verie delectable to eat, that have no finns to moove themselves withall, as other fishes doe. The seconde, tempestuous waves and surges of the water perpetually raging, without windes, and that in time of the greatest calmes, in the faire pleasant time of summer, when the ayr is quyet. The third is one of these isles, that is not corroborat, nor united to the ground, but hath beene perpetually loose; and although it bee fertill of good grasse, and replenished with neate, yet it mooves by the waves of

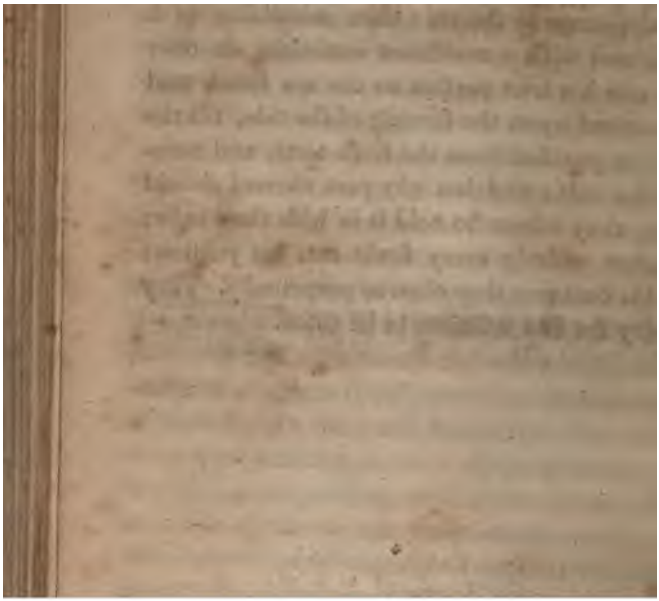
the water, and is transported some times towards one point, and otherwhiles towards another.

In Argyle is a stone found in divers parts, the which laid under straw or stubble, doth consume them to fire, by the great heat that it collects thereby. In Buquhan, at the demolished castle of Slanis, is a cave, from the toppe whereof distilles water, which in short time doth congeale to hard white stones. The cave is alwayes emptyed.

In Louthian, two miles from Edinburgh, southward, is a well spring, called St. Katherine's well, flowing perpetually with a kind of black fatnesse or oyle, above the water, proceeding (as is thought), of the parret coale, being frequent in these parts: this fatnesse is of a marveylous nature, for as the coale whereof it proceeds is sudden to conceive fire or flame, so is this oyle of a sudden operation to heale all salt scabs and humoures that trouble the outward skinne of man: commonly the head and hands are quickly healed by the vertue of this oyle. It renders a marvelous sweet smell. At Abirdene is a well of marvelous good quality to dissolve the stone, to expell sand from the reynes and bladder, and good for the chollicke, being drunke in the moneth of July, and a few dayes of August; little inferiour to the renowned water of the Spaw in *Almaine*. In the north seas of Scotland are great clogs of timber found, in the which are marveylously ingendred a sort of geese, called clayk geese, and doe hang by the beake till they be of perfection: oft times found, and keept in *admiration* of their rare generation. At Dunbar-

ton, directly under the castle, at the mouth of the river of Clyde, as it enters in the sea, there are a number of clayk geese, blacke of colour, which in the night time doe gather great quantity of the crops of the grasse growing upon the land, and carry the same to the sea; then assembling in a round, and with a wondrous curiositie, do offer everie one his own portion to the sea floud, and there attend upon the flowing of the tide, till the grasse be purified from the fresh taste, and turned to the salt; and lest any part thereof should escape, they labour to hold it in with their nebs; thereafter orderly every fowle eats his portion; and this custome they observe perpetually. They are véry fat and delicious to be eaten.

FINIS.



Book B = Three

" " " fifth Volume

" = Twenty-four

" " = Three

DATE DUE

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

DA 804.1 .D9 O35 1818 C.1

An abridgement, or summarie of

Stanford University Libraries

305-6004

3 797